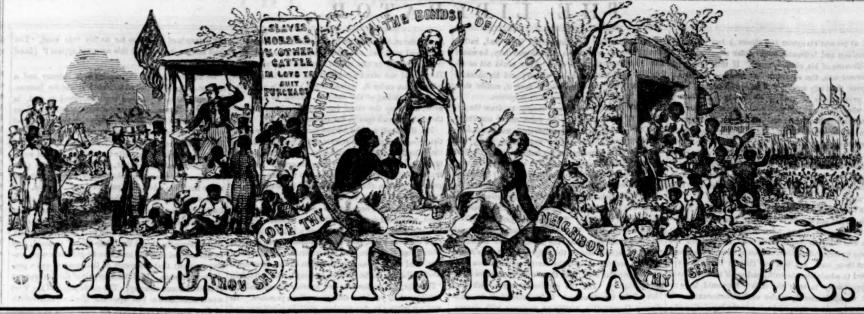
to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to and, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square ine times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, wania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auto receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial nitee, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILDRICK, and form PRILLIPS.

of In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of

sussion are impartially allowed a hearing. TM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S, CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years; of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—an

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-

sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

VOL. XXIII. NO. 22.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1853.

WHOLE NUMBER 1167.

IDOLITIONISM AND ABOLITIONISTS. sterday the New England Abolitionists comesterlay the New England Abolitionists com-ed another of their annual Conventions. The sin suggests a thought or two, touching the who firm the Abolition party, Abolitionism, it has done, where it is now, and whither it

and what are the men that make up the

is party! are sory to say, for the good reputation of ingland, that they are, for the most part, an saible, shiftless, belligerent and dangerous of men. We refer to the leaders. Take on, the fillibuster, who is a fair specimen of

so, the filibuster, who is a mar specimen of its two wings; Parker Pillsbury, the blassisting a sample of the other. Do they a feather in the community, outside of albebyism! Garrison long ago became an this community. His words are listened the same ear, and are given as much or as the to, as the ravings of a confirmed maniac, they so much resemble. The whole burden es, the logic of his endless newspaper is notoriously to blacken northern men there institutions—to insult and disgrace the south. Pillsbury's special, and, what sphemously terms 'godly mission,' is to the church, and to scandalize and overturn the church, and to scandalize and overturn at deem men regard as sacred and good, ser gans of the party follow suit—drivel, in r streams, the same sort of offensive and saff. Men like Phillips, Sewall, Jackson, r, and some others, clerical and lay, vary a in the form of their speech and action; but lall, at the real heart and head, they are one same with Garrison. with Garrison.

same with Garrison.

men of this stamp who form the Abolition

New England—insano destructionists at

astructively insane abroad. It is such men destructively insane abroad. It is such about the Melodeon each year, as to-day, to they setemes of moral villany, hatch up rays of sedition, and then strew them over England, and such other Northern States as and profitable to visit.

and productive to visit.

re the men. It is easy to judge what Abwill be, by the tree that bears it. As to
e slave, improving his condition, lightenains, bettering the nation any way, North they have no notion, nor earnest desire. shave their lessons been before us, which e lunatie men, in facts and figures which be mistaken, that the hope of the slave is his freedom more doubtful, for the efforts olitionists. It is Abolitionism to befoul, an, to agitate bad passions, to excite sectilities, to engender national hatred, to base, outrage. This is but the showing abuse, outrage. This is but the showing so record. Its speakers meet but to renew t upon onshught, and utter condemnation ation, each fiercer than that which ere. The South is libeled for its slavery. is denounced for the existence of the in-The church is battered and bruised bedy and everything is east away and reat does not come in and embrace fanaticism of these crazy men. Such, in

as Abolitionism done but to make new for the slave, and create new and extreme the slave, and put back his emancipation aite time! What has it accomplished but or blocks in the way of progress, to stay the of a real humanity? Nothing. All the form the Garrisonian diatribes, twenty-five go, to Uncle Tom's Cabin of to-day, no abmovement has been made, or work publish-at has not proved a caricature on the 'cause,' yoke on the neck of the slave.

Abolitionism going! Plainly to its But not without gaspings, gnashings, and more of deathly struggles. Its proselytes of easily give up the ghost in death, any han they have given up phantoms while livthe is tenucious in every thing that is foul tonstrous. It will be so here. But it must be. It down is fixed. It dwindles yearly. abers to-day are far less than five years ago.
sense who once swelled its ranks, hoping to
ne good to the slave, long ago found the ed by Abelitionism as entirely withfleet. They found the men engaged in be heartless beyond account, and as and selfish, and mercenary, as they as. Hence the party shrunk into a and from a faction into a shadow, till it is disgust, and disgrace, and execration, of and decent of every community. It is grous now from the pestilence and polluencircles its slimy form, rather than any lich it exerts, since the term power appli-alf-defunct organization would be a gross-tr.—Ratto. -Boston Bo

ICE FROM GARRISON. William Lloyd Garride a speech, yesterday, at the Melodeon, in be boasted that he stood outside the Union; more that he thanked God he was not as a Christian! No one will doubt the tofhis remark, and the only regret we have, non with American citizens generally, is, is not corporeally out of the country. As a part of the sentence, we may say that danger of as black an infidel as there is ation, being taken for a Christian. Any has heard this blasphemous reviler of the he bible, and religion, for the last fifteen simile at his Tom Paine sensitiveness, regarded for what the decent part of the state and eet and reverence .- Ibid.

LAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. There present or prospective amelioration of the with which this society is so unhappily and which has rendered a class of men really efficient as good citizens, and at resenting an organization commanding to respect, to the unenviable position of amounts the thoughtless, and excite the and pity of sensible men. The ' New Slavery Society,' so far as influence nogress, is rapidly retrograding, and in a rill number very few members outside an asylums.—Boston Daily Mail.

RISON. This free-spoken gentleman of nti-larery organization occupies a plat-a rather broad and indefinite character, interally might be raised in almost ar harrow streets of Boston, and afford roo mombers to stand upon.—Boston Courier Twe accept the compliment to the 'members' ahad habows that they 'go not with the multithe eril, but keep in 'the narrow way.'-Ed.

CONVENTION.

The twentieth annual New England Anti-Slavery
Convention assembled in the Melodeon, Boston, on
Wednesday, May 25, and was called to order at 10

Stephen S. Foster, of Worcester, at the close of Mr.
Wasson's speech, said he would like to ask two questions
of the last speaker—to which Mr. Wasson readily as-

ention were out, HENRY C. WRIGHT asked leave to of- to support? fer the following resolutions :-

fer the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That to vote under the Constitution of the United States is to vote for that Constitution, and for every principle and measure therein contained.

Whereas, the Constitution provides (1.) that human beings may be represented as property in the government—(2.) that they may be seized and reduced to slavery on each and every foot of territory over which the government holds jurisdiction—and, (3.) that the whole power of the government may be used to prevent slaves from gaining their liberty by flight or by arms; therefore,

To the last question, Mr. Wasson said that it must be known, all over the country, that every free-soil rote is a vote against slavery, and against every pro-slavery pro-slavery

shall rule ; therefore,

a political union with slaveholders, virtually pledge themselves to them, that if they do get the control of the government, in a constitutional way, they will not resist the execution of any law they, as the majority, shall see fit to pass in favor of slavery; but that they will obey it, or peacefully submit to any penalty, until the majority can be constitutionally changed in favor of the state of the productions. The tongue, upon which apost the sand reformers had relied to save the world. Did those men accomplish nothing in their day? Did Jesus, who had no ballet, effect nothing? And the apostles? And Luther and his unenfranchised associates? Did not all these men glory in the power which lay in the foot-times of preaching?

Yoted, To refer the resolutions the majority can be constitutionally changed in favor of Wright, to the Business Committee.

not tend, in any of its provisions, to secure slaveholders in their right of property in their slaves, is to give the lie to the Convention that formed that instrument; to the uniform decisions of its authorized expounders, the will not forsake religion, and take up the tiefficity, which is a preponderating elelabelitionism. All men, all institutions, of the legislative and executive branches of the government, and to the facts of history, so far as they bear on

6. That those who thus construe the Constitution while they remain in the Union, as parts of its governing power, are guilty of treachery to their slaveholding onfederates, inasmuch as these were given to understand that instrument as favoring and securing their rights as slaveholders, and inasmuch as they would not have entered into the confederacy, had they known that the Constitution was to receive an anti-slavery onstruction.

Whereas, in his recent discussion with WENDELL PHILLIPS, HORACE MANN' declares that an oath to support the Constitution is to be received as God, being a party to the oath, sees it to be understood by the peron making it ; therefore,

7. Resolved, That we enter our carnest protest against ich a construction of oaths, as a sanction of the prininle of mental reservation

8. Resolved, That an oath to support the Constitution ctually means just what the party making it intends that the party for whose benefit it is made shall re-

9. Resolved, That to give our oath to the slaveholders, that we will help them execute the Constitution in favor of slavery, provided they, having the majority, shall so interpret it, and then to violate our oath when they actually do get the majority, and do thus construe it, is to swear to do what we have no intention of doing, and thus to commit perjury with intent to deceive.

these resolutions.

support the Constitution and the Government.

he wishes, in an independent and separate form.

by their use of the post-office, paying taxes, &c.

answered the remarks of Mr. Davis. Mr. Burleigh ar- if he executes more than his instructions, the voter is gued the pro-slavery character of the U. S. Constitution not to be held responsible for what his agent does over and Government.

still, by voting under the Constitution, he did not sup-port those evil things to which, by the very conditions of government in a body, they choose agents to do it for of his vote, he was known to be opposed. A free-soil them, and write down how far they are to go. Now vote, said he, is known everywhere as a vote against comes up the agent, and says to his constituents, 'Who slavery, and the person giving it cannot be understood is to interpret this Constitution for me?' and that was by any intelligent man as an accomplice with slavehol- the question he (Mr. Wright) would have his friend ders. As an illustration of his meaning, Mr. Wasson Spooner or the friend who spoke in the morning (Rev. said that, on entering an omnibus, he might see a no-Mr. Wasson) answer. Who was to interpret the Con-

also kiss the driver's toe. - He certainly should refuse THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY to do any such thing, at the end of his ride, and should hold himself under no obligation to do it. STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, at the close of Mr.

clock by Francis Jackson, President of the Massa-sented. Mr. Foster said, Let me ask the gentleman if, On motion, the following persons were chosen a Comon motion, the following persons were chosen a Com-pittee, to nominate officers of this Convention: Samuel IAY, Jr., John T. Hilton, and John M. Spean.

Again—How is it to be known, by the other voters all MAY, Jr., JOHN T. HILTON, and JOHN M. SPEAR.

Again—How is it to be known, by the Constitution the over the country, what parts of the Constitution the over the country, what parts of the Constitution the While the Committee on the organization of the Con- gentleman means to support, and what he does not mean

To the last question, Mr. Wasson said that it must

2. Resolved, That all who vote under the Constitution of the United States, vote for these provisions in favor contrived for the support and continuance of slavery, of slavery, and against liberty.

Whereas, slaveholders are component parts of this confederacy, and have a right to an equal share in its offices, its honors and emoluments; and whereas, the government is based on the principle, that the majority shall rule; therefore,

was, by the discussion it provoked, opening the eyes and hearts of thousands and tens of thousands of men to a more careful consideration of their duties to their fellow men. Mr. G. argued against the assumption, that the ballot is a gift from God, which a man cannot refuse to use. Mr. G. declared that every ballot had, in 3. Resolved, That all who vote under the Constitu-tion, vote for the slaveholders' right to obtain that mation, vote for the slaveholders' right to obtain that majority, and thus to get the control of the government, and to wield it for the support and perpetuity of slavery, to the full extent of what they deem their constitutional power.

the powers we have under that instrument. We find a no obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obligations to aid him; when he comes and solve the powers we have under that instrument. We find a non-obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obligations to aid him; when he comes and solve the powers we have under that instrument. We find a non-obligations to aid him; when he comes and solve the powers we have under that instrument. We find a non-obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obligations to aid him; when he comes and solve the powers we have under that instrument. We find a number of the comes and solve the powers we have under that instrument. We find a number of the comes and solve the powers we have under that instrument. We find a number of the comes and solve the comes and solve the powers we have under that instrument. We find a number of the comes and solve the com 4. Resolved, That all such voters, by entering into talking, - of that weapon, the tongue, upon which apos-

The Committee on the organization of the Conven-5. That to assert that the Constitution is an anti-slavery document, and that it was not designed, and does not tend, in any of its provisions, to secure slaveholder.

For President, WENDELL PHILLIPS. For Vice-Presidents. EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham ; CHARLES LENOX REMOND, Salem; FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston; JOHN T. SARGENT, Boston J. M. FLINT, Randolph, Vt. PETER LIBBY, Buxton, Me.; DANIEL MITCHELL, Pawtucket, R. I.; ELIZA J. KENNY, Salem; JOHN. T. HILTON, Brighton. Secretaries,

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Boston : ALONZO J. GROVER, Abington. Business Committee, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH,

PARKER PILLSBURY, ANDREW T. Foss. STEPHEN S. FOSTER, HENRY C. WRIGHT. LUCY STONE, THOMAS HASKELL.

Finance Committee, JAMES N. BUFFUM, JOSHUA T. EVERETT, NATHANIEL B. SPOONER, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, JOSEPH MERRILL

The foregoing were unanimously chosen as the offieers of the Convention. On motion of SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,

Voted, That the hours of meeting be 10 o'clock, A. M., 21 P. M., and 71 in the evening. Adjourned to the afternoon.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON, a Vice-President, in the chair.

Mr. WRIGHT spoke at some length in support of said he would occupy a few moments, while the audithese resolutions.

James N. Burrum inquired if Abolitionists and Free Soilers did not stand on precisely the same footing, with regard to agreeing to execute and obey the laws, or suffering the penalty of disobedience. Mr. WRIGHT replied, that the Free Soiler, by his vote, agrees that the laws and the Constitution shall be executed as the development of the voters to their representatives. The voters were the cuted as the slaveholders wish, if they [the slaveholders] get the majority. The Abolitionist agrees to no such thing, and refuses to become a partner to any such arrangement. Mr. Davis, of Manchester, N. H., wished to append another resolution to Mr. Wright's series, to the effect did not mean that the Constitution was to be a law of that we have no right to live in this country, as we life to the persons, in their private capacity, but that it cannot do so without paying taxes, &c., and so helping was a bill of instructions for them to follow in their of-Mr. WRIGHT objected to this, as it related to an en-Mr. Wright objected to this, as it related to an entirely different point, and, however intended, its effect.

It was stated there in the forenoon, that each man It was stated there in the forencon, that each man is to divert attention from the point of the resolutions already offered. Let Mr. D. present his resolution, if conscience, and then vote only for so much of the Con-

Mr. Davis reiterated his former position, and said if Mr. Davis reiterated his former position, and said if friend gave one set of instructions to his agent,—his Free Soilers were involved, by voting, in the guilt of slavery, Mr. Garrison and his children were equally so, by their use of the post-office, paying taxes, &c.

Mr. Sumner allows another. Each voter gives his own construction of the document, to his agent, and demands CHAS. C. BURLEIGH, in an able and logical speech, that he shall execute his instructions, and no more; Rev. DAVID A. WASSON, of Groveland, maintained hilates the very idea of constitutional government. Govhat, whatever pro-slavery be in the U. S. Constitution, ernment was just this: the voters are the governing

laration which he thought different from the interpreta-tion put upon his (Mr. G's) views, by some of the other speakers. He then quoted Mr. Giddings, to the effect of instructions, and that there must be some harmony that, in the last resort, he would appeal to the God of and concord in the interpretation that we shall give to man of peace, but no non-resistant, and would sooner right in respect to the interpretation of the Constitution; have the ashes of his hearth deluged with blood, than

the Marshal, or any other authorized agent, comes to that it only tolerates this evil, and that the shortest and Jefferson (the town in which he resides,) in pursuit of best method of freeing ourselves from that evil is to use 'Hands off! stand aloof! let me take my slave!' Mr. stitution we are in doubt; but we choose a man because Giddings says his hands are tied, he cannot lift a finger we know he holds to a certain interpretation of that inwithin the Constitution, to protect him.

tion, as perfectly foreign to its spirit, he might right-fully use the powers which that instrument recognized man? Did the friends there have any doubt upon the reference to the evil. It had been replied, that this they expected?

that he could be silenced. certain tolerance. He did not think that it could be shown that there was any active tolerance at all. On he should act in the way he had indicated. give it any active recognition.

rights was to put that evil down. The question was, he obeyed his own conscience, where was the wrong? (said Mr. W.) Is it a sin, is it a wrong for me to use That was his question, now and always. what powers I can under the Constitution, while I do so inder protest against whatsoever evils it tolerates? He question of the interpretation of the Constitution, he

for this man or the other to suppose that, in voting unosition. But, having made himself thoroughly undervation' in the matter that could be stigmatized as Jesu-

He regarded it as a great loss, as a great wrong, to give up a power which rightfully belonged to us, and which we exercised against an evil which we abhorred. What right had any one to surrender such a power? Let it not be supposed that the Constitution created that right; it only recognized it, and provided a form under which that right should be exercised. The point that he urged was, that we were under obligation to use that right, so long as we could do so without being practieally misunderstood, and that if we refused to exercise t, we committed a great wrong to ourselves and to our neighbor. To this it was made answer, that the publication of truth is the greatest agency in the world; that ifested, he only needed to discover one flaw in his prether had no ballot. All this was very true; but it re- ground of 'No Union with Slaveholders.' It seemed to the era of doing. It was very well to resort to the the difference between government, an artificial thing, ago, the Liberty Party nominated a candidate for office, tongue at first; but when we have got public opinion on made by man, and society, a natural outgrowth of human shall pass into law, and so we go to the ballot-box.

hey provide the interpreter to decide what the Consti- it seemed to him, was of that character; an organization untion means, and then hold their agent to abide by it? that we apply not for any powers which we exercise unfibe latter was the plan this nation had adopted. The der it, but simply for the moral influence it can exert. onstitution, in one of its most elaborate and judicially If he found that that moral organization was false to its The business of their agent, the Executive, was to exe- it, and seek some other organization, with which he oute the decision of their authorized expounder, the could act. But the State was a very different thing. Supreme Court; and unless they adopted that rule of The State was an organization which provided a form action, they annihilated the government. He repeated, for the exercise of powers which we had a right to exer-the business of the Executive was to execute the deciion of the Supreme Court, and none other; because cripple ourselves; we cut off our own hands; we leave if they authorized him to give his own decision, they must confer upon him, discretionary power, and the government would be turned into a despotism.

Rev. David A. Wasson, of Groveland, said that there had been some difference of opinion manifested in the exercised for the redemption of the slave, going to susorning, in reference to the position of Mr. Giddings. tain slavery, what plea should be make to himself-He had since looked over his speeches, and found a dec- how satisfy his own conscience that he had done his

pattles rather than give up a fugitive; that he was a it. He was not a lawyer, and could not say what was that a fugitive slave should be torn from its protection, and sent back to bondage.

Court was binding on the Executive department of the Government acting under it; he supposed it was not the HENRY C. WRIGHT remarked that perhaps he could law to the private citizen. Whether that was a valid distate Mr. Giddings's position. That gentleman had re- tinction or not, he was willing to leave it an open quescently published, in Ohio, several articles, in which he tion. But here was an instrument, of which there were gives his definition of the powers of the Constitution different interpretations. One class of men believe that ching the Fugitive Slave Law. He says, that when it decidedly sustains a great evil; another class believe strument, and we never should elect him to office except

Mr. Wasson said that seemed quite conclusive in reupon that ground; and he fully understands us. Where, gard to the opinion of Mr. Giddings, and he was willing then, was the great guilt that had been talked about in to pass it by. In the morning, he had taken the posion, that certain evils being allowed in the Constitu- Sumnen goes into the Senate of the United States, as invested in him, provided he did it under protest in subject? and had they not found his course just what

was recognizing the old principle of 'doing evil that good may come.' Mr. Garrison had said that he (Mr. be recognized, and he maintained that, by his action un-W.) advocated sinning for the purpose of bringing about der any government, he did not pledge himself to vioa good result. But the very point was, whether that is late his conscience. However heretical this distinction The Constitution had made no evil. If the Constitu- represent slaves there, but I will tolerate you in that tion had given it no recognition whatever, the wrong position until I can cast you out!' Whenever there would have remained. We needed a government for came a law that represented not the spirit of the Constitution, but what was worst in the letter of the Constitution, but what was worst in the letter of the Constitution, be would fall back upon his individual right, and ment of slavery came in to disturb them. Very weakly and wrongfully, as he thought, the framers of the Constitution had consented to exercise towards that evil a

the contrary, there was a strong determination not to give it any active recognition.

If, then, there was such a distinction as he had set forth—if, by tolerating, under protest, a man in a cer-Now, when he came to exercise his rights as a citizen tain position, he cleared himself from all guilt attachunder the Constitution, he found an embarrassment; he ing to that position—then he was right, and no blame found that it might be understood as giving some sanc- attached to him. If he tolerated him, under protest, tion to slavery, while his very object in exercising his for the express purpose of putting an end to the wrong,

He would say, in conclusion, that in regard to the

was ignorant enough not to be responsible, and he meant Some remarks had been made in reference to 'mental to have the full advantage of his ignorance. As he eservations.' He agreed with the resolutions under understood the matter, it was his duty to use his right discussion, that it was the duty of every man to make of suffrage for the purpose of putting away the evil of his position thoroughly understood. If there was room slavery. The Constitution did not create the evil, but only agreed, for a certain time, to tolerate it; while it der the Constitution, he gave in his adhesion to the system of slavery, then he was bound clearly to define his away. He meant to comply with the spirit of that Constitution. He was willing, under a protest which ood, he did not see that there was any 'mental reser- no man could misunderstand, to pass by the evils which belong to the Constitution, casting them off from himself; and he did it for the express reason that he saw his shortest way of putting an end to them by pursuing this course. Where was the wrong? Yet his friends. in obedience to what he deemed a peccadillo of conscience, refused to exercise the power in their hands. If the day should ever come when the vote of Northern freemen might set the slaves free, and his friends should still hold the position they now do, and say, 'No! no! I shall be understood to imply consent to slavery'might not every slave at the South rise up and say, 'Our blood be on your garments'?

C. C. BURLEIGH said that, with the force of logic and the force of moral sentiment which his friend had manlesus and the Apostles had the tongue alone, that Lu- mises, in order to stand side by side with them on the nained true also, that in all practical reforms, there him, that the erroneous conclusion to which his friend was a progressive movement from the era of speaking to came was to be attributed to his want of appreciation of ur side, we wanted some means by which that opinion nature. It seemed to him that he (Mr. W.) confounded the distinction between the right to vote in the manner thall pass into law, and so we go to the ballot-box.

But the friends on the opposite side said, 'No! you must put that agency away.' They throw us back upon his opinions and exert his influence, in a natural way, it is distinction between the right to vote in the manner that man told him, in conversation, that he would not only promise to give back a runaway slave to his massive the tongue alone. The tongue alone would never emanon every subject which concerns human welfare. In
his mind, there was a broader and clearer distinction
where he could exercise political power. Now, he did
where he could exercise political power. ipate the slaves at the South. The tongue might wag for ever, and all to no purpose; but the time must come between these two things, than between some things and it had come—when the opinion of men must find its way into deeds. And now he asked to be shown why denied at the outset, that man had a natural right to the was to be denied the use of a power for cose, using that word in its technical sense; using it in that purpose which he found in his hands, and which its broader sense, he admitted that every man had a catching, in a certain case, for the sake of securing and right to vote, and in that sense, no more effective vote using political power against slavery. As he had not Again, it was said that we had come out from the Whig party, the Democratic party, and the Church, and now it is time to come out from the State. It seem-

THE LIBERATOR tice posted up in it that, as payment for his ride in it, stitution? Was each individual to interpret it? Was character—made for convenience alone; they imply no he must not only give the usual sum of money, but must be agent to interpret it for himself alone? Or would power whatsoever—give none, take none. The Church, cast in the ballot-box which deserved to be compared in weight, in influence, with the vote which was cast every week in the columns of THE LIBERATOR. If his friend used the word 'vote' in this broad signification, he did not touch the controversy between them; but if he used worded articles, defines the power of the Supreme trust, it was his duty to separate himself from it. If it in its narrower signification—if he meant to offirm court, and expressly lays it down as a principle, that, he found that the Whig party or the Democratic party that every man had a natural right to vote, and was bound to vote, even if the vote carried with it a virtual assent to the Constitution-then he dissented altogether from the proposition. Indeed, he did not see the perfeet consistency of the preceding speaker, for at one time he told him that his right to act at the ballot-box was not derived from the Constitution, that it belonged to him as a man, as a member of the social organization,-belonged to him as one capable of influencing and of being influenced; and then he told him that he (Mr. B.) was guilty of a dereliction of duty, because he did not go to the polls and vote under a Constitution, which, while it tolerated some evil, gives him a power which he might use for the removal of that evil believed that he (Mr. W.) stated the exact truth in regard to the source of the power which he conceived he had to use the ballot-box, or which he can have, while the Constitution is recognized as the bond of our political organization.

If this was a matter of opinion he (Mr. B) had upon his side the opinion of the vast majority of the people of this country, and the authority of all previous history. The government was based upon a far different ground from that upon which the former speaker would place it. No man can be a party to any government, unless he consents to the conditions which the government prescribes. If he lives under an absolute monarchy, he cannot get any official station, or any political ower at all, unless he will conform to the conditions rescribed by the will of the absolute monarch. If he lives in our many-headed despotism, which we call Democracy, (leaving out the on,) he is bound to conform to the conditions which the majority of the people proscribe, in the form which they have chosen; and he gets no political power, rightfully, legally and constitutionally, in any other way.

Now, the argument of his friend was based on his

wn opinion of the right theory of government, unsustained by any proof of its correctness. Thus he had set up his ideal government in the place of the actual government. They had to deal with the thing just as it was. The Constitution says, you shall not exercise any powers which belong to this government, unless you onform to its conditions. But the friend had said-not in these words, but, resolved into its elements, this was what he said-'I have a right to govern you, whether you are willing or not. I have a right to do all I can to be your President, although you utterly repudiate my sentiments.' He could not admit any such principle. No one could rightfully do this without his consent. sinning. He did not say that he would do so much evil might seem to some, be was fully persuaded that it was There was no such thing as freedom among a people that he might bring about such a good; but he asked if one which must be recognized. He would say to the where the majority had the right to say who should be this use of a right recognized in the Constitution was slaveholder, 'I will tolerate you in your seat in Conthe ruler, without any regard to the consent or the disght recognized in the Constitution was gress till I can oust you. Let there be no misunder-s not by bringing up that old principle, gress till I can oust you. Let there be no misunder-standing between us. I do not recognize your right to fore, in this governmental organization,—which is the artificial thing that society is not,-we came upon certain plainly expressed conditions; and one of these was, that every party to that government shall swear to support, directly or indirectly, a Constitution which requires the giving up of runaway slaves to their masters,-a Constitution which requires the recognition of the right of the slave States to a representation based on slave-property,-and so on through the whole range of the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution.

He understood his friend's logic to prove this: if it be true, that the Constitution is an artificial thing, that the government organized under it is an artificial thing; if it be true that the powers which we have to act politically are derived from the Constitution and government, and do not belong to us by divine and original right, then it is true that we are bound by the conditions prescribed in the Constitution, and he maintained that if we could not belong to that government, we must repudiate its Constitution, and fall back upon our original rights, and exert our influence for righteousness and truth. It seemed to him, after all, that there was some little doubt as to whether they could, by remaining in the government, effect more good than by withdrawing from it and uttering their testimony against it. Until, therefore, his friend had established his theory of government, not merely as a beautiful ideal, which ought to be put in practice, but one that is re-

clusion stood solely upon this basis-in order to do a great right, do a little wrong; or, at least, promise to do it, without meaning to keep the promise His friend had said, in the course of his argument, that there was no danger of their being misund

cognized in this country, it seemed to him that his con-

on this matter. Their position was clear and well-defined enough. He (Mr. B.) would venture to say, that if he (Mr. W.) were to go through the ranks of the Free Soil party, and ask its members, man by man, to define the position of John P. Hale, or Salmon P. Chase, or Charles Sumner, on the character of the Constitution, he would be satisfied that the case was not quite so clear as he had supposed. He would venture to say, that he (Mr. W.) would not get less than half as many distinct answers as he would address individuals. We wanted something specific on this point, but his

friend had dealt only in generalities. John P. Hale is decidedly anti-slavery in his feelings; Charles Sumner altogether on the side of freedom and against slavery. He presumed nobody doubted it; but that did not touch the question at issue. He remembered that, some years a man who had made more sacrifice to the cause of freedom than Mr. Hale and Mr. Sumner together; and yet, come to the conviction, that he could tolerate and protect the slaveholder so far, even for the sake ed to him that there was a wide difference here. The parties were purely voluntary, and temporary in their makes itself the engine of oppression to three millions

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tion. He did not say that Mr. Hale does regard the matter in that light; but could any man say he did not? Could any man say he was confident that Mr Hale, or Giddings, or Sumser, or Chase, or any Free Soil man in Congress, would not, upon clear attisfac-tion given to a jury of twelve men, here in old Massa chusetts, that a person claimed as a fugitive actually did run away from the slaveholder, who held him ac cording to the statute book of a Southern State-did any man know that either of these distinguished gentleme would refuse to give up that man, by State action, or by some sort of action, to the pursuing claimant? He thought there was no one there who could say it. These men, it was well known, were strenuous for securing the right of trial by jury, for alleged runaway slaves. But why should they ask for a jury trial to settle the question of ownership, if their decision was not to b executed? It was the sheerest mockery to call the jury together in such a case. The controversy of these ger tlemen was not so much with the act of returning the fugitive, as with the mode of doing it.

Did not Mr. Sumner, in that great and eloque speech of his, know that his readers would understan him, when he did not deny the obligation of the State to give up the runaway slave, as admitting that such a right does exist? All these men had admitted, that if the proof be made clear to the minds of a jury o twolve men, that a fugitive was legally held as a slave, under the provisions of the Constitution, and escaped without his master's consent, then the slave must be given up. Let their friend keep this distinction clearly in his mind, between a general opposition to sla very, and a specific determination to do no single act whatsoever which is seen to have a bearing towards sla-

very.

His friend had said that he deems it exceedingly in portant to use this power, and not be withheld from its exercise by any very nice scruples of conscience, or any mere punctities of duty, because in no other way can we embody the anti-slavery opinion of the country into will and act. Here he dissented. He believed that slavery would be abolished in this country long before the Constitution was anti-slavery; that whereas, the pro-slavery character of the Constitution was not the cause but the effect of slavery, so the triumph of antislavery will not be the effect but the cause of a revolu tion in the Constitution also. The power of the antislavery agitation was such as to make the downfall of slavery morally certain, unless some other prop could be put under it other than that which the Constitution gives it. John C. Calhoun, though he claimed for slavery, under the Constitution, some things which th North does not concede, clearly foresaw the surrender and downfall of slavery, under the force of that moral agitation which has shaken the four corners of the land by the power of speech.

Now, that was his (Mr. B's) faith. He fully agree with John C. Calhoun, that the Constitution, pro-slavery as it is, cannot save slavery from destruction that the power which is bearing against slavery i mightier, not only than any thing in the Constitution, but mightier than any thing John C. Calhoun could put

His friend had said that it was every man's duty to vote, because thereby he could do something for the overthrow of slavery, and said, suppose we get the public sentiment on our side, there is still the law against us. But what was the law against the public opinion of the land? When the public sentiment had come to be decisively and earnestly on the side of freedom,-when they had men everywhere who stood up to the line, 'No compromise with slavery-No union with slaveholders'-then they would see that the Constitution, if they attempted to wreath it round the limbs of the slave, was weaker than a rope of sand, and the Fugitive Slave Law more powerless than the rust which crumbled to fine powder last year; (loud cheers;) then they would see that it is vain for judge or legislator to attempt to keep a slave in his chains against the flat of that public sentiment which says, 'Stand fast in the liberty which God designs to give you!' (Ap-

His friend had made a supposition, that the ranks of the disunion abolitionists should increase until they were in the majority, and then asked how they would answe for it if, the time having come when their votes would give liberty to the slave, they refrained from exercising their right, and left the slave in the hands of those who would make his burdens heavier than before. If the time ever came that fire was kindled among the icebergs of Greenland, and consumed them, without destroying every thing within its reach; if the time ever comes throat, and pour no red tide upon the towns and cities below-what then? Why, then the laws of nature would be reversed. (Laughter and applause.) And so, if the time ever came, that a vote cast into the ballot-box would be the turning weight between liberty and slavery, then the laws of mind would have been reversed. and the laws of moral action become altogether different from what they now were.

But suppose they had a majority of the people on their side, and yet the pro-slavery Constitution and the pro-slavery laws remained-what then? This majority would be made up of precisely those elements which are the most effective-the young men, just entering upon the duties and responsibilities of manhood-the women. from the girl at the district school, up to the matron training the future rulers of the land. The politicians, as they well know, who were busy with the machinery of politics, with its chicanery and quibbles and quirks-would be the last persons to come into the antislavery ranks. Well, here was a man who refused to be a slave, and walked off into the free State lying nearest to him. How were they going to get him back? It took rather more than the ordinary force of the city of Boston, he believed, to take poor Thomas Sims out of the city as a slave; and yet, how very small a number of the citizens stood upon thorough anti-slavery ground Had there been one full-grown man out of twenty in the city of Boston, at that time, they could no more have taken Thomas Sims back to Georgia than they could have moved Wachuset into the Dismal Swamp Nay, not so much ; for the latter is possible, though not probable; but the former is neither probable nor possible. (Cheers.)

He had, however, been proceeding upon a proposition utterly impossible ever to be realized. Men were not converted to the true faith at once. As the anti-slavery sentiment was held up to its highest point of elevation it would draw all men, unto it. Some would come the whole way, some half way, some a quarter of the way-Gerrit Smith, John P. Hale, Charles Sumner leading them on. Men in the Democratic and Whig parties he did not know about the Whig party, but whatever stood in the place of the defunct Whig party-who were in favor of freedom, would not in its behalf. Every where, in all organizations, there would be men in favor of freedom, and the laws would be changed by the votes of those who did not see as they (the abolitionists) did. The laws would be changed long before they came to that point where an entire majority were ready to come into the Free Soil organization, in order to bring about that result; and this being his belief, he did not see, even in the argument of expediency, any thing inconsistent with high-toned anti-slavery sentiment.

In conclusion, Mr. BUBLEIGH said he wished to say few words in reference to a point which had been com mented upon by some of the preceding speakers,-the position of men in Congress who claimed to be truly and decidedly anti-slavery. One of two things, it seem ed to him, must be true : either the Constitution did tolerate slavery, did give the guaranties to the slave system which it was claimed that it did, or that Congress is no Congress at all. If it were true that the Constitution was thoroughly anti-slavery, if it were true that slaveholding was a violation of the law of the land-in plain English, was a crime-then every slaveholder, under a just administration of that law, would he liable to be sent to the Penitentiary, rather than to Congress. He would not venture to say in which place he thought he would meet the more respectable com-

ical position and influence might differ somewhat with than violate his convictions of truth and duty, he would the difference of his circumstances. If this theory is the correct one, the so-called Congress was no more a Congress than any assembly of bar-room loafers, nod-stand outside of the camp, and to save it, rather than ding over glasses of whiskey or brandy; and every to enter in, and be a partaker in its iniquities.

man who went there became a party to a monstrous lie.

But his object in rising was simply to draw the at man who went there became a party to a monstrous lie. But his object in rising was simply to draw t When Gerrit Shith goes up to Congress, he goes to tention of the audience to the point under conbecome a member of a body, which, on his own theory, tien, and to express the hope that they would not minto legislate for the cou-

the very principles of political freedom.

from a compact, and that compact based upon condi- until he was prepared to fact, the conditions prescribed by this government were swear to do what he does not mean to do. a certain measure of adherence with, and aid to, the Mr. Foster said he did not know that the America the publications of the press. (Applause.)

STEPHEN'S FOSTER said he wished that the speaker on the other side of the question would tell us just what they think of the U. S. Constitution,-whether they hink it an anti-slavery or a pro-slavery instrument. With those who truly believe it an anti-slavery document, and act accordingly, and vote only for such men as themselves hold the same view, and will also act in accordance therewith,-with such we have no contro-

Mr. Foster said there was no anti-slavery party in Mr. Foster said there was no anti-stately problem of the country. The Free Soil party anti-slavery? He that gentlemen who came upon that platform would let would like to see the evidence of it. What had it done? Here were three millions of men and women that were brute beasts. Did the Free Soil party propose to extend its protecting arm over the humblest slave in the South? Had any responsible member of the party ever said that it did? He had asked the question often, and had always to wait for an answer. He defied any man to put his finger on a single sentence, from the lips of dwelling beneath its flag. He wished it occupied that. Let there be no evasion. If a man believed the Constigovernment that should protect all the inhabitants position; and if it did, he would be the last man to make any warfare upon it. He wished that a party ry no sanction; but such a party did not exist, unless they considered Gerrit Smith's party such an one; and he did not understand GERRIT SMITH, even, to have taken this ground.

obstacles to the progress of the cause of freedom. Why not endorse the position taken by the previous speaker was it that the tens of thousands of abolitionists in this (S. S. Foster,) that they should first acknowledge the revolutionizing public sentiment, and establishing in maintained that the Constitution was an anti-slavery this nation a government, before the laws of which all document; and if Free Soilers could prove that, in men should stand as equal-a government that should far as the General Government had jurisdiction, it was had been beguiled and deluded. They had been induced nothing in principle or policy by subscribing to it, they to believe that, in voting for certain men to hold high he thought they might act under it without rendering stations in the country, they had voted for those who themselves liable to the charge of inconsistency. would sustain the great principle of liberty for all . The Constitution had been abused, and it was the duty who would claim impartial justice for every dweller on and privilege of Free Soilers to labor to secure for it such Hale, nor Charles Sumner, nor Joshua R. Giddings, nor when it was so interpreted, he believed that the action any other representative of the Free Soil party, had of the General Government would meet their approbaever breathed such a sentiment. He challenged any tion. man to produce the evidence that they had done so.

a government, and acknowledge his allegiance to it, There was no one of these powers that refers, dir groans and execrations. Charles Summer had told of the Supreme Court to reverse its previous dec then let them read Charles Sumner in the Senate Cham-ber, declaring that the great effort of the country should same might be said of the Declaration of Independence, be to bring back this government to where our fathers which was adopted unanimously by the slaveholding

to elect another General Cushing to one of the highest could be construed to justify slavery? Could the most offices in the gift of Massachusetts? He would like to ultra abolitionist find any thing in that glorious Declara hear from some prominent man of the Free Soil party, tion, directly or indirectly sanctioning slavery? No some man who understood its principles and character. The truth was, that the people of the United States were Mr. Mann had asked them to give the Free Soil party to be enslaved by a foreign monarch, and on adopting their votes. He was ready to give Mr. Mann his, the a form of Government, they refused to admit the idea of moment he proved himself worthy of it, provided he human slavery. The Constitution gave them great could do so consistently with principle; but he had an power of legislation on the subject of slavery, but never objection to promising to do what he did not intend to required one sacrifice of principle. Besides, he would perform. He looked at the Constitution as a unit. If have the audience remember, that according to the opin he could not do any thing which it required to be done ion which had been expressed on that platform, it was in good faith, then he would reject it as a whole. He not the Constitution which upheld slavery, but the pubtreated it as he did the Church. He would like very lie sentiment of the country. Would gentlemen deny well to be among those clerical brethren assembled in that, were a Constitution to be drawn up by the mo various parts of the city, and tell them some salutary rigid and consistent abolitionist, and subjected to the truths, which they would not be likely to hear, unless scrutiny of a pro-slavery Congress,-would they deny some radical should go in among them. But he could that the letter of such an abolition document would not do this, without professing what he did not believe, construed to mean just what the people wanted it and promising what he did not mean to perform. So mean? It was necessary that they should rectify publishe staid away, simply because he could not go as an sentiment, and not waste their time and strength in honest, straight-forward, outspoken man. For the efforts which, he must be excused for saying, were oppo same reason, he could not go to the ballot-box. If he ed to the dictates of common, practical, every were a knave, he could go there. There was not a He did not agree in the position taken by a previo church or a political party he could not enter, if he speaker, (Mr. Bunleign,) that government was an art were a dishonest knave. He had never seen any special ficial thing. It was as natural to man as society itself

pany, at present (laughter and cheers;) but his polit- necessity for going into them; but if he had, rather

has no existence; and recognizes as members of that gle up so many things as they were prone to do. He body a clique of irresponsible men, who have no right was not a little surprised at the indifference of the first ntry, and by whose acts the coun- speaker (Mr. Wasson) in regard to the pro-slavery try is no more bound than the State of Pennsylvania guarantees of the Constitution. He (Mr. F.) had asked would be bound by a vote that should be passed by that him if he would enter an omnibus, provided he were required to conform to certain rules and regulations, one of His friend had said that we might tolerate some things which was to kiss the toe of the driver. The question which we did not recognise as right: that a representa-tive in Congress might tolerate the presence of those is the Constitution. Will you swear to support it, with there who were the representatives of slaves, with the its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the express understanding that, as soon as he could, he would return of fugitive slaves, the suppression of slave insur thrust them out. Let him say that to the officer apprecians, and the three-fifths slave representation? pointed to administer the oath, and see if he would have no opportunity to take the oath! He would have no right to administer it, under such circumstances. If idea of the Constitution? If he believed it an antihis friend could do this, and tolerate the legislation of a slavery Constitution, totally at variance with slavery body of men claiming to be the Congress of the United let him say so, and all controversy, so far as the reso States, and contrive to recognize that as binding upon lutions before them were concerned, was at an end, and us, then he was carrying toleration to an extent where he could come and stand with them, and still sustain forbearance ceased to be a virtue,' if it did not become his idea. But if he believed, with ninety-nine hun amething of a very different character. No man had dredths of the people of this country, that the Consti a right to telerate a class of men as legislators, who had tution is a pro-slavery instrument, then did he men not the least shadow of constitutional authority to oc- to say that he could swear to support it? And if he cupy legislative positions. It was a toleration fatal to cannot swear to support it himself, could be aid in electing any other man to swear to support it? It He came, then, to this conclusion: Government was seemed to him that the gentleman could not vote for artificial, and our right to take any part in it results any man until he was prepared to take office himselfsny that the Constitution is tions, if conditions were prescribed. As a matter of strictly anti-slavery, or, being pro-slavery, that he can

slave system. Therefore, as he, and those who believed Anti-Slavery Society would spend any time in discuss with him, could not accept those favors which governing the character of the Constitution with men who ment proposed to grant on these conditions, they adopt- really believed it to be anti-slavery. He knew only ed the motto, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' turned that the American and the Massachusetts A. S. Socie from the ballot-box, and gave their votes there, in the ties had declared that slavery was a sin, and ought ears of the people, and abroad through the land, in be immediately abolished; that they had declared the would support nothing which sanctioned slavery; and believing that the Constitution of the United States is pro-slavery, they had denounced it as 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.' They found the three great parties of the country standing as obstacle to the progress of the anti-slavery cause. They had a controversy with these parties, and more especially with the Free Soil party, because, while assuming to be anti-slavery, it supported this slaveholding and slave-trading government, and therefore was more dangerous to th cause of liberty than the others.

In conclusion, Mr. Foster again expresed the ho the audience understand clearly their position. No recognized by the government of the country only as man who believed the Constitution to be anti-slavery was pro-slavery, and no pro-slavery man practically believed it to be anti-slavery. He was not very particular to know what they believed; he wanted to know what they did. That man was not a true anti-slavery man, whatever he professed, who voted for a man who believed in the pro-slavery character of the Constiany prominent Free Soil speaker, declaring their deteraination to make the government of the United States very resolutions, and then went off and voted for Henry Clay. They wanted to know, then, what men DID tution to be anti-slavery, and yet voted for a candidat who believed it to be pro-slavery, then he was support would spring up in this country that should give slaveother class in the community, because, on his own showing, he supported a candidate who perverts the Constitution to make it uphold slavery.

Mr. HENRY B. BLACKWELL, of Cincinnati, Ohio, wa He regarded the Free Soil party as one of the worst next introduced to the audience. He said that he coul ommonwealth and throughout New England were not Constitution to be pro-slavery, before they were permitextensively engaged with them in the great work of ted, as Free Soil men, to justify their positions. He know no master and no slave? Simply because they anti-slavery; if they could prove that they surrendered

In the first place, he would call their attention to the Mr. Foster said he did not know how it might be fact, that there were express powers delegated by the with others, but, God being his helper, he would never people of the States to the General Government, and an receive a privilege that he must purchase at his neigh- express reservation of all these powers which were not bor's expense; he would never receive protection from expressly granted therein to the States and the people that allowed one human being to be outraged under its or indirectly, to slavery. Gentlemen had said ther flag. When they could be shown a government which that the Constitution had been expounded by the extended its protecting arm alike over all, there was Supreme Court, and that they were bound to adopt the government they could respect and support. It was decision of the Supreme Court as the final interpretavain to tell him that the government would protect tion of the Constitution. He found no such privilege over him, and therefore ask for it his support. It was in our consciences granted in the Constitution. He believed vain to point him to its enormous wealth and its prosperity, as evidence of the beneficial influence of the Supreme Court was to be the present rule of conduct for government. He pointed them to the three million the officers of the Government, but never for the conslaves, who had loaded it down for generations with sciences of the individual voters. It was in the power them that the Union was twice blessed, and asked hon- as Chief Justice Mansfield reversed the decisions of the est abolitionists to bless if, and thank God for it. A English courts, in favor of liberty on English soil. Even government that dooms every sixth woman to pollution if it were true that they could not carry out all its pro ander its flag-a government that ought to be execrated visions in favor of liberty and against slavery, they by every human being-Charles Sumner tells us is a maintained that they had a right to use it, and, having government that is 'twice blessed'! Horace Mann' ascertained the general scope and spirit of the instru had declared that, among all the governments of the ment, interpret it in accordance with that general spirit. earth, this government was to be preferred. A govern- Now, what did the paeamble to the Constitution say? Not ment which perpetrated every enormity in the name that the Government was organized to established slaveof Christianity and religion,-that sold babies on the ry, but to 'establish freedom, and secure the blessings auction-block, and doomed every sixth woman in the of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' We were land to prostitution,-Horace Mann called upon them bound to suppose, in the absence of positive proof to to respect as the best form of government in the world ! the contrary, that this was the meaning of what follows He knew of nothing so well calculated to lull to sleep in the instrument. The word 'slave' is no where to be the partially awakened consciences of the community, found in the Constitution, and was stricken out from and to blunt their moral sensibilities, as this twaddle the original draft, because our fathers would not recogof the Free Soilers. Let them read Charles Sumner in nize the principle that man might hold property in man Fancuil Hall, denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law; and Some gentleman had said that the Constitution must

States; and yet, would any one pretend to say that ther What did the Free Soil party propose to do? Was it was any thing in the Declaration of Independence which what it had done. It had challenged their support, then smarting under tyranny; had known what it was

Among the rudest men, we found some form of Govern- was determined to say, so far as his vote went, 'You selves, those whom they had thus cruelly despised as the number of the selves o ment increased as the nation increased in manhood. They could not stand outside of the Government, and refuse to act under it. As well might a captain of a ship, learner. The West looked to New England for instruc-

tion to some of the good results which had flowed from his the adoption of the Constitution. The African slave he came there to listen while they tried to do that work trade had been abolished. So important was this If they could show him that, in voting under the Con trade considered by the South, that they made an ex-stitution, he necessarily endorsed slavery, they should press stipulation that it should not be abolished for never hear him advocate Free Soil doctrines again. Bu

District of Columbia, and full control over the territo- he did not feel that the men who fought there were prories, and as soon as they should so choose, they could slavery men; that the result of that contest was a proabolish slavery in the District, and say to the foul spirit, slavery triumph. He did not despair of the Govern Thus far, but no farther—not another square mile of of their common country. The noble people of the West territory shall you blast with your odious presence.' He would come here to look upon the glorious battle-fields was not willing to give up these glorious privileges, and of New England, and inhale the inspiration of freedo to become a den of licentiousness-a den of thieves. and strengthen their hands, and they would work with By the grace of God, the Free Soilers meant to stay the their tongues and pens, in their caucuses and political

But where was the Free Soil man who was not in favor diate abolition of slawry in the District of Columbia ? had got them, but to create such a moral sentiment : (Applause.) Where was the Free Soil man who would (Loud applause.) not pledge himself to rescue a fugitive from the clutches of his pursuer, even in the face of fines and imprison-He knew many a good Free Soiler in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, who would tell them that he believed the Constitution to be an anti-slavery document-that every word in it was imbued with the spirit of freedom and right; and who would tear his heart out of his bosom, before he would act under it, if he believed it to be the accursed thing it had been there described.

Now, as to the question of representation, upon which so much stress had been laid, it was true that our fathers, for the sake of securing a government, did consent that, in apportioning the representation, five slaves should be counted as three freemen. But did they thus give their sanction to the slave system? He thought not. If he were to take a carriage and ride out with a slaveholder to view the beautiful environs of Boston, would he thereby sanction his slaveholding? If the powers conferred upon the general government are not the slaveholders, and, of course, for the slaveholders' pro-slavery, the mere fact of slaves being counted as a pasis of representation, however impolitic, involved no guarantee of slavery itself.

But where was the proof, in the Constitution, that this three-fifths representation was a representation of slaves? There was no evidence of this to be derived rom the words of the instrument; the only evidence lay in an indirect implication. It was just so in regard to what was called the Fugitive Slave Clause. Notwithstanding that he might be willing to admit that slaves were intended to be implied in the phrase, 'other persons,' still, if the objects of the confederacy were then they would certainly grant that it was no sacrifice of principle to accept it. Such was the fact.

The Fugitive Slave Clause was not a power conferred upon the General Government. As all the leading Free Soilers had expressly contended, it was a compact between the people of the States who entered into the Union. If there was any obligation to give up fugitives, it rested solely with the States themselves. The courts had made their decisions upon it, but we were not bound to execute any decision which conflicted with the higher law of God. If there were any clauses in the Constitution which conflicted with the straight-forward principles of right, we were bound to set them aside, and regard them as the idle wind. In the vigorous language of a noble New England poet, (J. R. LOWELL,) whose words were familiar to thousands who live on the broad prairies and along the mighty rivers of the Mr. Adams thought of the Constitution itself, in its re-

duties first, The traitor to Humanity is the traitor most accursed ; Man is more than Constitutions; better rot beneath the

Than be true to Church and State, while we are doubly

In saying this, he believed he spoke the sentiments of called property. It was because the South knew this, that they were so unwilling to yield the usurped power they had conferred upon the Federal Government. In relation to the bugbear of the power of the Union

being pledged to put down slave insurrections, he had o quote the opinion of JOHN OVINCY ADAMS, that the carrying out of the clause in reference to this subject would result in the emancipation of the slaves since the local law would in such case be superseded by prove his claim to hold property in his fellow-being. Now, he would ask them candidly to consider the results of giving up their jurisdiction in this matter. They tied themselves hand and foot, and gave themsome Free Soil men. If he could sit down with a dozen like exercising all his rights against the atrocious system. He had been to the South ; he had friends there and the more he saw of the workings of the infernal system, the more fully was he convinced that it was worse than the worst representations that had ever been made upon the anti-slavery platform.

Then there were other provisions in the Constitution They had personal guarantees of the most express and liberal kind. Gentlemen had claimed, and he grant ed that the word 'persons' was sometimes intended to cover slaves. But the same interpretation of words must go all through any instrument which i subject to criticism; and so, if the word 'persons' was intended to mean slaves, in the representation clause, then all the guaranties of personal liberty given to persons' belong to slaves also. The people were guaantied the right to bear arms, and, of course, by impli cation, to use them; they were guarantied the right to ssemble peaceably; the right of free discussion; th right to hold property. There was no law in the Southern States which legalized slavery, and the right inter pretation of the Constitution would break the fetter from every black man's limbs in the Southern States.

Every word in the Constitution was right—was in favor of liberty. He had studied it carefully. For four years after he became of age, he had declined to secause he supposed, from the representation of friends, that the Con ly, he concluded to examine it for himself, and the scales fell from his eyes. He called upon them to examine the Constitution for themselves. He called upon them to remember that Government was a necessity; spirit, for the colored population? For two centuries, that they could not escape from it; that their property they had outraged them in every way, and trodder would be taken from them, in the shape of taxes, and

cheers.)

He had come to that Convention as a listener and amid the howling of the tempest, refuse to take the tion and example. He had been surprised to find, in helm, and keep the vessel from the breakers, because the city of Boston, merchants of high standing, whose there was a weak spot in her timbers.

Mr. Blackwell said he wished now to call their attenmself. There was work yet to be done in Boston, an wenty years; but at the end of that time, it was abol- he thought they could not show it. The people of the ished. Had it not been for the adoption of that instru-ment, we should now have had thirty million slaves on this continent, instead of three and a half millions.

The thought they could not show it. The people of the United States were a people of political instincts. They were the children of men who had fought for the right of suffrage on many a hard-won field of glorious strife. In the next place, they had unlimited power over the arrender the broad and fertile territories of the West with the pure air, and that would nerve their heart march of this gigantic wrong.

Some questions had been asked there in respect to the position of some of the Free Soil members of Congress.

They should not take their votes from them, but they would make them tremble before the zeal and enthusiof the immediate extension of the Wilmot Proviso, to asm of their labors. They had organized to make them exclude slavery from all the territories? Where was return fugitive slaves; the friends of freedom would the Free Soil man who was not in favor of the imme- organize, not only to keep their fugitives, when they Where was the Free Soil man who was not in favor of should crush the foul system of slavery beneath its the immediate and unconditional repeal of the accursed weight. They would not cut off any arm of their Fugitive Slave Law? Where was the member of the power; they would surrender no right which could be Free Soil party who did not recognize and support the used in the slave's behalf; but they would struggle for higher law' of God against the lower law of man? freedom in every way, and struggle for freedom for ever.

Mr. Garrison said, 'The legs of the lame are not equal.' To undertake to rescue the Constitution from the charge of pro-slavery, and make it coherently and logically anti-slavery, in the face of all the facts attending its adoption and administration, was as difficult as to blot the sun from the heavens at mid-day. His eloquent friend had said, that the Constitution was all that we could desire it to be-was just what Liberty required. And yet he had admitted that, by that very Constitution, the slaveholders were permitted to represent

three-fifths of their slaves on the floor of Congress. How could that be? He asked him where the eviden of such a provision was to be found-and he still renewed the inquiry. On his (Mr. B's) own mode of reasoning, the Constitution was an anti-slavery instrument, with no word in favor of slavery in it; yet he had admitted that three-fifths of the slave property at the South were, under the Constitution, represented by benefit. He had admitted again, that fugitive slaves are included in the clause relating to persons escaping from service or labor. And yet, the Constitution is not pro-slavery !- goes for liberty !- is all that can be desired! It seemed to him that to state these contradictions was sufficient to refute them. Whether the Constitution is anti-slavery or not; whether it goes for slave-catching or not; whether it grants the right of slave representation or not; all these things are done under it, and have been sanctioned, without a note of remonstrance, as a matter of course, ever since the formation of the government. Now he would appeal to strictly defined, and no sanction was given to slavery, the civilized world, if there was ever a more glaring absurdity than to attempt, in the face of our national history, in view of the injustice of this country toward the colored race for two hundred years, to persuade the people that they have totally misunderstood the matter, and that what they had supposed to be black, was altogether white? Did not Washington, and Jefferson, and Patrick Henry, and John Marshall, and their contemporaries, understand the Constitution? Yet they held but one opinion about it. Reference had been made to the opinion expressed by John Quincy Adams, to the effect that, in case a great national exigency should occur .- a formidable invasion from abroad, for example, -Congress would be justified in abolishing slavery, under the war power, as a measure of national self-preservation. But this was clearly an exceptional case, a did not affect the question under consideration. What lation to slavery and the slave trade, he has told the

" It cannot be denied-THE SLAVEHOLDING THE SOUTH PRESCRIBED, AS A CONDITION OF THEIR ASSENT TO THE CONSTITUTION, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DONIS OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugisive the second was the supuration to surrender lugistice. Free Soilers generally. When they had succeeded in repealing the Fugitive Slave Law, and secured the right interpretation, he did not believe that it would be possible to prove, to the satisfaction of twelve Northern men, that arty slave claimant had a right to his something the supuration of the satisfaction of twelve Northern men, that arty slave claimant had a right to his something of parkind. It is doubly claimed the understanding of parkind. It is doubly claimed the satisfaction of ment thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the un-derstanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND of the free peo THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Did John Quincy Adams understand his country's Constitution? Were his allegations entirely destitute martial law, and the master could give no evidence to of truth? Why, there was not a Court in the country. which did not recognize the pro-slavery character that instrument: there was not a legislative body which did not recognize it; Congress had uniformly done so; and also the National Executive and the Supreme Court. selves over to the enemy. It had been justly said, that The people had always regarded it in the same light, Mr. Garrison was not so much feared at the South as and the people could not be mistaken, because it was the embodiment of their will. He (Mr. G.) deemed it Georgia slaveholders, or any other Southern men, and inexcusable to attempt to whitewash the character of explain to them that these abolitionists would not raise the framers of the Constitution, by representing that up their hands to strike out the law which provides for they intended to give no sanction to slavery, and declarreturning fugitive slaves, they would not give five dimes for Mr. Garnison's head. For his part, he felt Why not seek to whitewash the character of the men who passed the Fugitive Slave Law? The Fugitive Slave Law! Had not the passage of that Law convulsed the whole country? Was not all Europe filled with horror in view of it? But, according to the logic of his friend from Ohio, no such Law has ever been enacted by Congress, or attempted to be enforced by the government! All this prodigious excitement - this world-wide feeling of moral indignation-was the result of gross misapprehension! He called upon his friend Ohio to show that the Law, so universally excrated, contained one single sentence or word which authorized slave-hunting or slave-catching, or require the surrender of fugitive slaves! It referred solely persons held to service or labor'-using the exact language of the American Constitution. Now if the words, 'persons held to service or labor,' in the Constitation, cannot, do not, and were never intended to ap ply to fugitive slaves, (and this is the ground assumby those who maintain the anti-slavery character of that instrument,) then it is just as certain that they can have no such meaning or application in what i called the Fugitive Slave Law. But as it would be t outrage the intelligence of the country to deny that the express design of that Law was the seizure of fugitive slaves, and the punishment of such persons as sough to secrete them, so it is equally preposterous to asser stitution was pro-slavery. Final. that the Constitution contains ne compromises on th subject of slavery.

When did the white people of this country ever ex When had it been them like ashes under their feet! used to uphold slavery, whether they would or no. For bossible for them, intelligently and purposely, to adopt his part, if his money was to be taken from him, he a Constitution, embracing on equal terms with them-

systematically proscribed? Never! This conflict with the Slave Power was not simply a matter of verbal criticism, but it had reference to a overshadowing and an all-controlling system of opposition, which was to be met and vanquished by southing more potent than an ingenious play upon words. have been challenged to prove that the word stays is in the Constitution—that it contains any thing adverse to human liberty. It is true that no such word is fun in the instrument; neither did it ever contain the work in the instrument, necessary on the ever common the works. adoption, that trade was prosecuted under the Ar can flag, as a legitimate branch of the commerce of the country—as a constitutional right. It is equally or tain, that in their treatment of the colored people, on fathers were guilty of great injustice, before God did not take the black man into their embrace; they did not recognize his manhood; and to this hoar he is to ed more like a leper than an American citizen So, then, it was not true that our fathers made an

anti-slavery Constitution. In their state of mind, if was morally impossible for them to do so. It was no their intention to do any such thing. Doubtless, it was a very easy thing, on that platform, for his friend from what would the South make of it? And with his pretation of it, where was the Union? Did they any pose that the South meant to submit to such a critician s that-meant to yield to an anti-slavery it of the very instrument they had fashioned the and which was shaped exactly to their own liking! was the acme of infatuation! As for the remark of his friend, that the South pre-

ferred the action of the old organization to that of i Free Soilers, was it so? It was a novel piece of intel gence. If the South did not understand his position and that of the American A. S. Society, in regard to the Union and to voting, it was not because they had no tried to make it plain. The truth was, the old organ zation was the only one which Southern slavehold spected, because they clearly understood the issue prosented to them, inflexibly and uncompromisingly. R as for this attempt to get round the bargain, this q bling about words, the South held it to picable and dishonest; and they would regard such a interpretation as a virtual declaration of war, if it enforcement were attempted. They would feel then selves justified in rising up as one man, and sheddin the last drop of blood in their veins, to prevent the carrying out of this interpretation. Our fathers di agree to sustain slavery ; the people agreed to it; a the instrument remains as it was originally, in rega to its pro-slavery compromises. He, and those wi acted with him, acknowledged the sin, and would ; attempt to cloak it ; therefore, they could not conto be members of a government that upheld it, and n quired acquiescence and participation in it. Therefore it was that they washed their hands of it, and str outside with God and innocency, crying in the ear the world, . No Union with Slaveholders rel or politically!' (Great cheering.)

Mr. JOHN T. HILTON defended the course and mail of the old-organized Anti-Slavery Society, and said to colored race (to which he belonged) had always reco nized Mr. Garrison and his associates as their true clear-sighted friends. He thanked God for area this Society, for preserving and prolonging the lif Mr. Garrison, and enabling him to speak in fitting to of the corruptions and iniquities of the slaveko Adjourned.

EVENING. EDMUND QUINCY in the chair. The Convention was addressed by LUCY STOR WENDELL PRILLIPS.

G. W. F. MELLEN read a paper to the Convention which no action was taken. Adjourned to Thursday morning, 10 o'clock.

THURSDAY.

The Convention re-assembled at the Melodeon, was called to order, at 10 o'clock, by FRANCIS JA

Rev. ANDREW T. Foss, of Manchester, N. H. dressed the Convention in an earnest speech, it and speaking to the following resolution :-

Resolved, That the cry of infidelity which the ch and clergy of this land are raising against those expose their sin, is an old trick, which was playe the Jews against Jesus, and by the Catholic Luther :- that it is insincere, and is feet be

statements, but was obliged to admit that Dr. Brish (who has emancipated his slaves) was admitted to a one Baptist church in Boston, while Dr. Fuller, it daveholder and apologist for slavery, was admitted Dr. Sharp's pulpit, to Dr. Nealc's, and to the chil places of Baptist honor.

HENRY C. WRIGHT indignantly opposed the idea is any book, or any being, man or God, could make size ry right.

GEORGE W. PUTNAM, of Lynn, formerly a lect agent of the Massachusetts Society, by leave of Convention, made a statement in regard to what lead sidered the harsh and unjust course pursued toward by the General Agent and the Agency Committee of the

Mr. May, the General Agent, replied to his gave a very different version of the story, app credible witnesses. Mr. PHILLIPS, of the Agency mittee, also sustained the course which that Co and the General Agent had taken in Mr. Pot case, showing that it was the course which their di in a wise and economical use of the money in the slavery trensury, required them to adopt-and that Committee had, on the maturest consideration rected the General Agent to pursue.

Mr. Phillips made an earnest appeal to the Co tion for funds, to aid in carrying the cause form New England during the ensuing year. On motion of W. L. Garrison, adjourned to the al

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair. DANIEL FOSTER spoke of the necessity ballot in order to abolish slavery, and referred course taken in England on the abolition of West Slavery. He admitted, however, the superior wa the moral agitation of the question, such as which the American Anti-Slavery Society and iliaries are engaged, without which every of must fail and die. He thought the Free Soilers themselves to be unjustly prejudiced against Mr. son and his associates; and he urged his friends to come to the meetings and the platfor fashioned Anti-Slavery, that a more thorough tween them and the moral agitators might be for W. L. GARRÍSON, from the Business Comi ported the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That inasmuch as the condition bership in the American Anti-Slavery Society is, the recognition of the self-evident truth, that can hold property in man, that immediate em is the right of the slave and the duty of the mas that Society neither disciplines nor exec member on any charge of acting inconsistently w anti-slavery profession; as its platform is sa ope opponents as to its friends, and free to all; and great instrumentality for the peaceful abolition ry is the utterance and application of the truth is consciences and hearts of the people; it follows, so long as the Society is true to its fundamental principle it forms in the people in the people is formation of the people in the people in the people is formation of the people in the people in the people is formation of the people in ple, it furnishes common ground for all these wh to be anxious for the everthrow of the slaves secession from it is an indication of a factious of conscious unwillingness or inability to m sponsibilities of the cause and the duties of the 2. Resolved, That no man, who consents to

the anti-slavery platform, or standing where no man who professes to be the friend and sittle the slave, especially if he occupy a high, rej

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is regarded as south walling. Resolved, if the professed friends of the slave to be watchful of the plant there be any compromise of his rights, walnush each other whenever or wherever there and to be a dereliction from the strict line of antito be a mand whoever takes offence at this, or early principle, and the same of the consequence with any himself from our platform in consequence mend, shows himself to be consciously in the wrong, nered, moves manner to be conscious

Mr. Garrison sustained the resolutions at considera-Mr. Garrinos sancincos de resolutions a la kegth [Speech in a future number.]

PARKER PILISUERY, in a speech of much ability, arthe weakness of the position occupied by New and Free Soilers generally.

Mr. GARRISON hoped that the meeting would not dis antil they had heard a statement respecting a ared man, -a father and husband, -now in this ming. Mr. Mitchell, perhaps, would like himself to

Jacos Mitterent, a colored man, about 45 or 50 earl of age, and of prepossessing appearance, came an of age, and the proposed appearance, came date, and at his master's death, became the property is master's daughter. After some years, she died sonsumption, and then, said he, my liberty was cathed to me, but I was kept in slavery eleven s longer than I should have been. When I got my ho, I married a wife, with whom I lived twentyyears, as man and wife should live, in peace and will. I worked hard, and tried to buy my wife out datery. I paid \$1300 towards it. Now they are ying to sell my family from me, notwithstanding what are paid. I have a wife and seven children, and I a not where they are, -whether they are in jail, or the way to a distant slave State. But I have come be conclusion, that I will spend my life in getting m back. Friends, I do not want to marry your others, or to sit in your parlors, or to be your lawminister, or doctor; but I do ask that I may enjoy liberty which belongs to a man, such as all desire themselves. Now, if you please to aid me in my det to obtain my family again, it would rejoice my

Mr. Garrison added a few remarks on the attempted sente of Mr. Mitchell's family, about last Christmas, and their severe sufferings from the excessive cold seather which they then had to encounter. One of the ughters had her feet so badly frozen, that she lost her of her toes. At Bedford, they made themselves nown to a colored man-a colored Methodist minister and he betrayed them to their pursuers! Their sur, in revenge for their attempted escape, now demade \$3500 for them, and has offered to sell them, to le carried farther South.

Mr. G. said he would add, that he had never seen the ma who more perfectly realized his ideal of 'Uncle fon' than did Jacob Mitchell.

CHARLES L. REMOND said he felt it his duty to take acception to some of Mr. Mitchell's remarks. ferrel to what Mr. M. had said to the audience, that he fid not wish to marry their daughters, sit in their parers, be their lawyer, doctor, minister, &c. He would ot censure Mr. M. for this language, who, brought up slavery, might naturally speak as he had done, without considering that, in so speaking, he was compromisg the claim of the colored man to hold a social posiis in all respects on an equality with the white man, and to be lawyer, doctor, minister, or whatever he chose. But, when he saw that remark applauded by that porion of the audience who, just before, had been uttering their noisy and disgraceful exclamations in behalf of Daniel Webster and other pro-slavery men, he could not restrain his indignation. He told those men that he hew the vileness and meanness of their hearts—that the spirit of negro-hate was rife in them, that spirit of thich Boston and the North was yet so full, and which hal been so plainly manifested in the galleries that sfernoon-and that they would themselves turn slavetraiers, if they had the money and the courage for it. Mr. Remond continued, for some time, in a strain of in-

[Mr. Mitchell went through the meeting, and obtain-

WILLIAM J. WATKINS added a few remarks. At a late hour, adjourned.

EVENING. EDMUND QUINCY in the chair. Mrs. Ouve Bearse came forward, and, in a few dictated by deep feeling, bore her testimony against the oppression of the land-both physical and

W. L. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, introduced the following resolutions :-

Resolved, That, as members of the American Anti-Savery Society, and friends of that open and uncompromising hostility to slavery which allows no party and no sect to hold a place in our regards paramount to this cause of justice and humanity, we desire, anew and emphatically, to express our thanks to those men and women in Great Britain and Ireland, who, for hoble gifts to the treasury of our cause; and who have labored, with a most instructive and self-denying devetedness, in the dark hour as well as in the bright strength, to awaken the people of their own land to believed." the terrible wrongs done to the slave in this, -and to eltain from every Christian church and every Christian man and woman in the mother land, their steadfast protest against those wrongs, their prayers to Heaven for the speedy triumph of Freedom and of Right, and their stern resolve to have no union with slaveholders or with their apologists, such as shall imply, in the least degree, a social or a religious consent to their crimes.

Resolved, That, in this connection, we cannot forbear to refer, with pleasure, to the marked change in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, the organ of the British and Fereign Anti-Slavery Society, since the resignation of its former editor, and the accession of its new one; its attitude towards the American Anti-Slavery cause being new impartial and friendly, its spirit towards the movement which this Convention represents frank and courteens, and its rebuke of the pro-slavery churches and ministers of this country earnest and keen, and sure to be effective oh both sides of the Atlantic; and we trust that no feeling of sect, or spirit of selfishness, will be allowed to poison the anti-slavery sentiment which is how growing and gaining strength in every just and humane heart of the civilized world.

Mr. John C. Cluer said he wished to say a few words in reference to a remark which had been made at a session, respecting a Scotch lady who had een kind enough, and some people said meddling bugh, to ask the American ladies-very politely and tery delicately, indeed-to use their influence to remove the only real plague-spot of this country. The remark to which he alluded was to the effect, that the speaker (Mr. PUTKAM) had very little confidence in the antislatery of any person, when British tyrants complimentel them. It so happened that the lady, (the Duchess of Satherland,) had been among the foremost in all the re-forms that touched the elevation of the working classes the was a mere lad, taking great interest in the agitation for the 'ton hour system' for factory operatives, himself being one; and when he grew up to manbood, and took an active part in that agitation, the names of the Buchess of Sutherland and Lord Ashley were associated with that great movement. Now, because Lord Ashley were associated with the great movement. Now, because Lord Ashley mere of slaveholders in the churches, with that great movement. Now, because Lord Ashley mere associated with the Buchess of Sutherland were rich, was that any reason why he should not accept their help to work out his mancipation from slavery in the cotton factory? He thought there was much consistency manifested by those parties who had addressed the people of this country on the subject of slavery, inasmuch as they did not do it until they had obtained for the British operative.

The Presentyerian Assembly Scenot. The committee have modified their report by recommending that the presbyteries in the churches, &c., instead of appointing a commission to make the inquiries respecting the number of slaverholders in the churches, &c., instead of appointing a commission to make the inquiries respecting the number of slaver in the churches, &c., instead of appointing a commission to make the inquiries respecting the number of slaver in the churches, &c., instead of appointing a commission to make the inquiries. The fact that no anterior and the presbyteries in the churches, &c., instead of appointing a commission to make the inquiries. The fact that no anterior clergy and has dered to appear at any of the antiversary meetings without professing anti-slavery principles, and that one at least (Rev. Mr. Prime) was declared that one of the subject was violent-ly opposed by Southern delegates, and it was declared plainly that every Southern presbytery had resolved to exceede, if the report was adopted. On the other hand, the Western delegates declared that all the Western delegates, and it was declared that one of the subject was violent in that country. (Loud cheers). He recollected, when

n-has a right to claim exemption from antiries of that country-a thing not yet accomplished in democratic America.

He would just refer to that very beautiful lady, the wife of an ex-President, of whom they had all heard. Where had that woman been brought up? (Great laughter.) Did she ever go to a public school? What had her reading been confined to? The fact was, that the whole thing of which that communication complained,-(which must have been written by the husband

there were scoundrels connected with the British government, undoubtedly; but where did they find sympathy? Among the slaveholders and the apologists for slavery in this country. (Great applause.) What papers were they in England, that apologized for slave-ry in this country? The same papers that denounced every struggle for freedom among the working classes at home. There was not a liberal journal in all Scot-what manner and to what extent abolitionism is 'goland, from John-o'Groat's to Land's End, whose every ing down '! Laus Deo! pulse did not beat in favor of liberty and against slavery, the world over. There was not a dirty, mean, contemptible tory journal in Britain, that went for On Friday morning last, the Senate Chamber of Massascent, that did not lend its influence to prop up the sys- able and intellectual audience, gathered to hear

many a time had the poor operatives of that country and determining the action of government. gathered their ha'pence together to raise as much as This morning, (Friday,) the Committee are to be Uncle Tom's Cabin.' In the mud cabins of Ireland, Hall, by Rev. Theodore Parker and others. in the weaving-shops of England, in the huts of Scotthe people, and they forgot their own sufferings in those know what it ought to be. of their fellow-creatures on this side the water; and they would never be induced, by the twaddle of American sympathy for themselves, to withhold their denunciations of the foul and villanous system of slavery. They spurned the proffered sympathy of those who

black or the white. He was not an anti-slavery man ing. No time could possibly have been more approprithey were men and women, and it was manhood that he Cabin has come down upon the dark abodes of slavery recognised. (Loud cheers.) He cared nothing about like a morning's sunlight, unfolding to view its enorwould take nothing less.

REV. THEODORE PARKER then, amidst much applause took the floor, and delivered an eloquent and able speech, of which a full report will be given hereafter. His theme was 'The General Aspect of Slavery,' and

But there were mighty forces on the side of freedom. There was a vast political power enlisted on its side; many years past, have annually sent their liberal and there were a noble clergy, the moral sense of the civilized world, and the influence of woman, also on its

> WENDELL PHILLIPS, after a few remarks, moved the adoption of the resolutions before the Convention.

of the year, to the amount of \$910.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, President. SAMUEL MAY, Jr. ALONZO J. GROVER, Secretaries.

N. E. Convention, was the following :-

MARSHVIELD, May 23, 1853. I shall not personally attend the annual gathering of the Pioneer Abolitionists of New England, at Boston, The best speech of the evening was made by our find enclosed in this letter.

longs to a numerous and very powerful family, which I have but little faith in the American clergy-either exercises a controlling influence in the affairs of this colored or white; but I believe Ward to be not only one world. I trust you will recognize his credentials, and of the most honest, but an uncompromising and faithful give him a place in your deliberations. I hope also, that, advocate of his countrymen. He is certainly the best in addition to the many noble men and women who will colored minister that has yet visited this country. meet with you, to receive and impart light and heat I recognized in the audience several of our Am upon the great question of human freedom, there will friends. Among them was Mrs. Follen, Miss Cabot, be at least a 'few more of the same sort.'

Yours in the Advance. N. H. WHITING.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders,

. BOSTON, JUNE 3, 1853.

THE NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION-

This Convention occupied two entire days (Wednesday of the ex-President's wife, or somebody else as imbecile,) and Thursday) last week, holding in all six public had been done away with, through the labors of the people, in bringing the case before the English Parliament. The abuse of the miners was one of the things of the past in that country. He recollected laboring usual in the topics discussed, but, from the opening of six months, some years ago, among the miners in two of the mining counties, and at the end of that time had lack of able speakers to arrest attention and elicit apthe pleasure not only of seeing great numbers of them plause. The absorbing question under consideration become temperate men and women, but also of seeing was the pro-slavery character of the American Constitution, and appear before the House of Commons, and demand and obtain their rights from that Parliament. And Lord Ashley and the ably and eloquently defended by Henry B. Blackwell, Duchess of Sutherland were active participators in the Esq., of Cincinnati, and the duty of voting by Rev. Damovement in their behalf; and he did not see why it vid Wasson of Groveland. These were effectively replied to by Henry C. Wright, Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillswife to set a similar example, in imitation of what they have done across the water. (Applause.) There were tyrants in England-plenty of them; and May for their copious and excellent reports) as our

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

the union of Church and State, and for hereditary detem of slavery in this country. (Cheers.)

LUCY STONE and WENDELL PHILLIPS argue, before the Committee of the Constitutional Convention, to whom well for them to learn something of the facts in the case.

Show him a skulking, contemptible emigrant from the duty of admitting the women of the Commonwealth to other side of the water, who would flatter and fawn to the slaveholder, and he would show them a rascal, who was the enemy of the working-classes of the country he was the enemy of the working-classes of the country he had left. (Great applause). He hated and despised the injustice and barbarity arising from the denial to such with his whole heart. He knew there were many woman of her political rights, by referring to various in Great Britain who struggled hard for their daily authentic cases in illustration, the whole assembly was bread, but he would say that they could not find a fac-deeply moved, and men and women alike freely shed tory child in the cities, and towns, and villages of old tears. It was a sublime and thrilling scene, never to be Scotland—his own dear native land—or in England, or forgotten. Mr. PHILLIPS also made one of his noblest in poor down-trodden Ireland, who would not spit in efforts, and produced a powerful effect by his arguments the face of the richest tyrant on earth who should talk and appeals. Never before, since the world was made, to them about selling themselves, and exchanging situ-ations with the slave. They would sing the wrongs of in the hall of legislation, to be represented in her own slavery, in America as well as in their own land, and person, and to have an equal part in framing the laws

would pay for a gallery ticket to the theatre, to witness addressed, on the same subject, in the Representatives'

What will be the action either of the Committee or the land, the woes of the slave were touching the hearts of Convention, on this subject, we cannot tell, but we

LETTER FROM WILLIAM W. BROWN. DEAR MR. GARRISON:

I forward to you, by this day's mail, the papers containing accounts of the great meeting held in Exeter bought and sold human beings as good as themselves.

Mr. Clure said, in conclusion, that he liked every movement in favor of liberty, whether it was for the because the subjects of slavery were black, but because ate for such a meeting than the present. Uncle Tom's creeds, country or color, but he thought there was that mities in a manner which has fastened all eyes upon the in manhood which should at least have fair play. He 'peculiar institution,' and awakening sympathy in liked the spirit of the gentleman (Mr. Remond) who hearts that never before felt for the slave. Had Exeter spoke on that platform in the afternoon, who asked for no privileges, but demanded the rights of manhood, and five thousand, it would no doubt have been filled to its utmost capacity. For more than a week before the Mr. PUTNAM insisted on the opinions he had expressed meeting came off, the tickets were all disposed of, and it was understood that hundreds were applying every day. With those who may be classed as Mrs. Stowe's converts. that lady was the centre of attraction for them; while the elder abolitionista came for the sake of the cause. I entered the great Hall an hour before the time, and in its consideration, he took a wide range, alluding especially to the views held by the ultraists of the South, which he illustrated by numerous quotations from a work recently issued by Mr. De Res. (a south of the officials, to keep places for those who had tickets to that part of the house. work recently issued by Mr. De Bow, (a gentleman connected with the Census Department at Washington,) the Richmond Examiner, and other sources. He considered the chief allies of the slave system to be the false commercial idea that slave labor is profitable, the qualities than that of a mere nobleman, made the false political idea, that slavery is a source of political opening speech, and, as you will see, a good one. While power, the influence of the servile class, who had something to gain by truckling to the Slave Power, and Sutherland, came in, and took her seat in the balcony a godless clergy, who sought to pull humanity down to greater lady (the authoress of Uncle Tom) made her appearance, and took her seat by the side of the Duches At this stage of the meeting, there was a degree of excitement in the room that can better be imagined than described. The waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the clapping of hands, the stamping of feet, and the screamage them, and that they could use the language of St. day, in sickness and weariness as well as in health and Paul, 'Now is our salvation nearer than when we first the programme, while the thieves were at work helping themselves out of the abundance of the pockets of the who were most crowded. A few arrests by the police soon taught the latter that there was no room there for The vote was taken, and the resolutions were adopted different speakers, who were mostly residents of the To Notwithstanding the almost incessant rain during metropolis. Professor Stowe, as you might expect, was the messions of the Convention, the meetings were looked upon as the lion of the speakers; but his speech crowded throughout, day and evening, and a very deep disappointed all, except those of us who knew enough of interest in the discussions was manifested. The Fi- American divines not to anticipate much from them on nance Committee collected the sum of about \$470 in the subject of slavery. For my own part, I was not money, and received pledges, to be paid in the course disappointed, for I have long since despaired of anything being done by clergymen; and the Professor's speech at Glasgow, and subsequent addresses, had prepared me to look for but little from him. He evidently wishes for no agitation on the subject, and said it would do no Among the letters received, in reference to the I look upon this cotton question as nothing more than to divert the public from the main subject itself. Mr. Stowe is not very young, yet he is only a child in the FRIEND MAY-For various reasons, among which a anti-slavery movement. He is now lisping his A, B, C, somewhat uncertain state of health is prominent, I think and if his wife succeeds in making him a good scholar,

this week; but I have concluded to send a Representa-tire, in the shape of a five dollar bill, which you will self great credit, and exposed the hypocrisy of the American pro-slavery churches in a way that caused Professor Stowe to turn more than once upon his seat.

> J. Miller M'Kim, Miss Pugh, Professor Wm. G. Allen and lady, and Wm. and Ellen Craft. Upon the whole, the anti-slavery cause is in a more healthy state than it ever was before, and from all appearance much good will

ADRIAN, Mich., May 1, 1853.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SER,—Never before in my life did I see so many disappointed people as were gathered around the door of the Odd Fellows' Hall in this city to-day. Hundreds came in from all parts of the country. Some came one hundred miles to hear the man whom the Church has denounced as an infidel and fanatio—cager to hear the gospel preached from your lips. And yet, the clergy of this city tell us that you are losing your influence in the country, and they have made it a subject of congratulation in their Sunday discourses to-day, that you were prevented from coming here by sickness. They say there was a Providence in it!

We received your letter yesterday, informing us of your illness in Cincinnati. We are not going to give you up yet. Never was there a greater field for antislavery labor than at the present time in Michigan. I know you will not seed to the terms on which Miss Remond settled with Mr. Palmer, who had ejected her from the Howard Athense-having published very inaccurate statements in regard to the terms on which Miss Remond settled with Mr. Palmer, who had ejected her from the Howard Athense-union, on account which may be relied upon. After Palmer and Philbrick had been fined by the Polece Court, she brought a civil suit against them to recover damages. A friend of Palmer's them applied to accept a small sum, on the express condition that she and the friends who accompanied her should have tickets to the opera, no as good places as they originally purchased on the night they were ejected. These terms were complied with, and she, with her friends, attended the opera on Wednesday evening. The small sum paid, which did not defray the actual expenses incurred by Miss Remond and her sister, was received, because they were operated from coming here by sickness. They say there was a Providence in it!

We received your letter yesterday, informing us of your illness in Cincinnati. We are not going to give you up yet. Never was there a greater field for antiskness

Committee on the qualifications of voters, in the Repre-

the whole of our last page is occupied with a Letter from Hon. Horack Mann, giving his views of the elecfrom Horace Mann, giving his views of the elective franchise under the U. S. Constitution. It is his object to show that, conceding all that is alleged against the Constitution as to its slaveholding guaranties, every man may vote under it with a clear conscience; and that, to repudiate the ballot, on any moral consideration, is to be needlessly squeamish and to act in a very absurd manner. Besides, whoever lives on the soil, pays taxes, avails himself of the post-office and other privileges, &c. &c., is in fact as much responsible for the acts of the government, as though he actually voted at the polls, or held office under the same. This Letter we regard as extremely sophistical and wholly inconwe regard as extremely sophistical and wholly incon-clusive. 'We wait for light, but behold obscurity.' Educationally, Mr. Mann is clear and powerful; ethi-cally, he seems to us to be lost in a fog, and unable to seeks nearly, we accidentally stabbed with a bayonet over the eye, which entered his brain, killing him in-stantly. make moral distinctions. In another Letter, he pro-

Mr. GAY, in the management of that journal. It presents a very favorable opportunity for persons to sub-

WALLOUT, the mailing of last week's paper was not su-tiful quarto. Illustrated with Engravings, exhibiting may have occurred, which we trust our subscribers will Body, with familiar instructions to learners. It is emexcuse. All such errors will be rectified, on informa-phatically a Journal of Health, designed to be a comtion being given. For the same reason, there will be some delay in sending out receipts for monies re-

The acknowledgment of money received and pledged, at the late Anti-Slavery Convention, we are compelled to postpone to next week.

A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. NANCY PRINCE, written by herself, second edition, has just been published, and is for sale at the Anti-Slavery fice 21 Cornhill. Price 23 cents.

THE BIRTE CONVENTION. This Convention commen ed vesterday at Hartford, and will continue in session through Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Its proceedings cannot fail to prove highly interesting.

We have on file many communications, but as vet can find no room for them. Correspondents must cultivate patience.

MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. We have received the Thirty-third Annual Report of its condition and affairs. The document contains a detailed statement of the various departments of the Association. 2175 volumes were added to the library last year at an expense of 21.024 50. The number of reduces are sufficiently as a superscript of the various occupations will be discussed in the light of Phrenology and Physiology, so that every one may know in what pursuit he would be most likely to succeed.—Publishers. of \$1,934 59. The number of volumes now in the library is 13,626. The transfer of books to members LETTERS and communications for the subscribes the past year has been seventy-eight thousand seven whether on business of the Massachusetts A. S. Society hundred, or about six times the number of books owned or otherwise, should be sent to him at LEICESTER by the Society. The report alludes at length to the Mass., until further notice. vants of the association in regard to a new hall.

Adjournment of the Legislature.—The Legislature of Massachusetts, after a session of one hundred and forty-one days, was prorogned by the Governor at half-past ten o'clock on Wednesday night, last week. The Governor signed the four hundred and twenty-two bills and the ninety-nine resolves submitted to him. Before the adjournment, and while the proposition to creet a statue in honor of Daniel Webster was under consideration, Mr. Stearns, of Mansfield, presented the management of the Mansfield of the Society, LEWIS FORD. ue in honor of Daniel Webster was under consideration, Mr. Stearns, of Mansfield, presented the memorial of Henry A. Remington and eighty other colored citizens of New Bedford, remonstrating most solemnly against appropriating \$10,000 or any other sum for a statue of Daniel Webster, to be placed in the State House. The remonstrants pledge themselves that if the work is carried out, they will 'petition the next Legislature to have the statue removed from the Capitol, and placed in front of the Court House, surrounded with chains, in commemoration of the rendition of Sims, or some other appropriate place. The memorial was laid on the DEED—In Cleveland, N. V. May 24th, Julium Ly.

ox, of Cambridge.

ox, daughter of Henry H. Lawson, or N. Y., and ow, daughter of Henry H. Lawson, of Redner. In the Constitution that are to be about four hundred. His coffin was 24 feet wide, and 2 feet high.

FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE

ox of Fensylvania.

FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION.

February, 1854.

FACULTY.

The Journal of Commerce calls the Liberator the Lieberater, and the Boston Courier quotes this 'good thing.' This seems like a confession from our pro-slavery friends, that their position which the Liberator is accustomed to breate so vigorously is, in their own view, a lie.'—Commonwealth.

The National Era.—Dr. Bailey, the editor of the widely circulated anti-slavery journal at Washington, informs his readers that he is to leave New York in the steam-ship Baltic for Liverpool, to remain there three months, and meanwhile, the paper will be under the editorial charge of Dr. Elder, A. M. Granger, and J. G. Whittier.

FACULTY.

DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology.

ELWOOD HARVEY, M. D., Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine.

HILBERD DARLINGTON, M. D., Professor of Physiology.

ANN PRISEREL, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.

MARK G. KERR, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children.

Alsura L. Fowler, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy and Chemistry. The Journal of Commerce calls the Liberator the

To be Hung for Kidnapping.—Joseph K. Groves has been tried at Clinton, N. C., on a charge of kidnap-ping, found guilty, and sentenced to be hung on the first Friday of July.

QUEDEC, May 31. The steam tug E. St. Pierre ex-loded last night at Gilmore's wharf, killing six men, ne woman, and a child.

you up yet. Never was there a greater field for antislavery labor than at the present time in Michigan. I know you will not refuse to come where you can be of so much service to the cause which you so dearly cherish.

Wishing you a speedy restoration to health and to your family, I remain,

Yours truly,

P. REASONER.

This letter confirms the statement made in the letter of Dr. Owen, of Adrian, published recently. We are greatly supprised to bears that so will an interest.

The annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-

chevalier Bansen, Hon. Thomas B. Macaulay.

The annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held at Exeter Hall, London, on the 16th. The Earl of Shaftesbury presiding. The Times says:—When Mrs. Stowe entered, the excitement of the assembled audience rose to a tremendous pitch, and it was several minutes before the cheers with which the hall rang had sufficiently relieved them. When she withdrew, the same honors were paid to her; every one standing up, and cheering with heart and soul. The Committee on the qualifications of voters, in the Renye.

ing.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were read fro Committee on the qualifications of voters, in the Representatives' Chamber, this (FRIDAY) morning, June 3d, at 8 o'clock. And we also learn that Rev. Theodore lisle. The latter stated his intention, to call, on the 30th inst., the attention of the Hous. of Lords to the condition of slaves in Cuba. Professor Stowe, Rev. Charles Beecher, and Rev. S. R. Ward were formally admitted corresponding members of the Association.

ALBANY, May 26 .- Two children of Mr. Hamilton, of

make moral distinctions. In another Letter, he proposes to give his long-desired views of the Constitution itself. We hope he will be explicit.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. The Standard, last week, commenced its Fourteenth Volume, under the editorial co-operation of our faithful fellow-laborer, OLIVER JOHNSON, who will hereafter be associated with

Safety of the William and Mary's Passen sents a very favorable opportunity for persons to subscribe, and we carneatly hope that, by the new arrangement, the subscription list will be greatly extended. The Standard is the official organ of the American A. S. Society, and therefore occupies a high and responsible position in the cause. In its permanence and wide circulation, the friends of the slave generally should feel a deep interest.

THE WATER-CURE JOURNAL-A New Volume .- No To Subscribes. On account of the illness of Mr. is the time to subscribe. Published monthly, in a beau perintended, as usual, by him. Mistakes and omissions the Structure, Anatomy and Physiology of the Human

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SAMUEL MAY, JR.

FACULTY.

ALMRA L. Fowler, M. D., Demonstration and Chemistry.

Persons wishing further information as to terms, regulations, &c., or desirous of receiving copies of the Announcement, will please apply, personally or by letter, to the Dean of the Faculty.

DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D.,

220, Arch st., Philadelphia.

June 6

NEW BOOKS, OF RARE INTEREST AND VALUE,

JUST PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY. BOSTON.

Owing to the unparalleled draft upon our resources, during the past year, on account of the unexampled sale of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest moment, and now offer them to the readers of good books. Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published speedily.

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A portion of this most admirably written volume of Meditations on the last hours of our Savior upon earth, was published some years since, and met with great favor from the religious public. The work has been rewritten, and very much enlarged, and is again offered to the community. We would not say a word in its commendation to those who have read the volume as originally published. To those who leve to go with the Redeemer of men, to meditate in the garden of Gethsemane, or upon the mount of Olives, or by the sea of Galilee, this volume will afford a vein of sacred thought. Price \$1 00.

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We need not inform the public that any work from Mr. Spooner's pen would be one of great research and learning—his logical acuteness as a writer is too well known. This, his last, and perhaps his greatest effort, on the Trial by large to describe the great temperature. on the Trial by Jury, is destined to create a commetion in the world. Jurymen will learn their rights and duties from it, and also learn to what an alarming extent their rights have been encroached upon. We bespeak for this able treatise a candid perusal. Price—\$1.25 in cloth; \$1.50 in law sheep.

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JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, CLEVELAND, Onio, And for sale by Booksellers generally. TO MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. Authoress of ' Uncle Tom's Cabin.' SUGGESTED BY HER RECENT VISIT TO SCOTLAND. Lady! thou whose touching story Makes us weep and smile by turns, Welcome to the land of Scotia-Land of Wellace, Bruce, and Burns

Hore in town and crowded city. Moorland bleak and lonely glen, All have felt the powerful pleading Of thy truthful, goodlike pen.

Hoary fathers, in whose bosoms Patriot ardor long has flowed. Catch from thee a stronger passi Mothers, ever true and tender,

Holier feelings get from thee, When thou tell'st of poor Eliza, Forced o'er piles of ice to flee.

When she tempts the dangerous current, Oft they breathe the exclamation, Save her, Heaven, and make her blest

'Hark, that shrick! oh, God! she sinketh! Guide her! guide her to the shore! Blood-drops from her feet are cozing ! Would that Slavery's reign were o'er ! "

Such, fair Lady, are the feelings-Such the horror, such the pain, Waked by thee at deeds inhuman-Deeds that cast on man a stain Not the learned alone thou charmest

With thy words and thoughts refined ;-Like sweet Nature's glorious sunshine Thon delightest every mind ! Even our little children bless thee,

As they read the Negro's tale ;-O! how eagerly they trace him, Through oppression's gloomy vale! Then, in fancy, see him dungeoned,

Bleeding in accursed chains, Or through tangled forests hunted, Marked with scars, or wrecked with pains. And, while shuddering o'er the picture,

O'er the Negro's woes and fears, How they learn to loathe the slaver He who lives on blood and tears. Lady! thus the fires of freedom Have been roused afresh by thee, And shall blaze till tyrants perish,

Welcome, then, to dear auld Scotia, Hallowed by the good and brave ; Countless thousands long to hail thee, Noblest pleader for the slave. ARCH'D M'KAT. Kilmarnock.

And the Negro tribes are free !

SABBATH DAY IN NEW YORK. BY PARK BENJAMIN.

From views by night, with all their glittering glare, Turn we awhile to those in sunshine bare, Observe the pageant, as it sweeps along, Where Broadway pours its never-ceasing throng-Not on a week-day, with its noise and crash, Where row and rumpus follow dirt and dash, But Sunday morning, when, all o'er the town, Silence, like snow-fall, settles softly down. Look on this edifice of marble made How fair its walls, too beautiful to fade ! See what fine people in its portals crowd, Smiling and greeting, talking, laughing loud What is it? Surely not a gay Exchange, Where wit and Beauty social joys arrange Not a grand shop, where late Parisian styles Attract rich buyers from a thousand miles ;-But step within ; no need of further search, Behold ! admire a fashionable church ! Look, how its orient window glints and gleams What finted light magnificently streams On the proud pulpit carved with strange device, Where velvet cushions, exquisitely nice, Pressed by the polished preacher's dainty hands, Hold a huge volume clasped by golden bands. No fingers' soil its satin leaves display-'Tis never used on any other day ; It never suffers 'apostolic knocks,' The sexton keeps it in a rosewood box. Its perfect texts are read with mineing tongue, Lisped, drawled and mumbled, spoken half, half sung, While all around, the congregation close Their genteel eyes in elegant repose. A moral essay, common-place and calm, Succeeds the thunder of a full-choired pealm-For what the sermon lacks, the singing lends, Great noise for dulness ever makes amends. But then the music 's splendid ! Grant 'tis so-The Doctor's practised, and he ought to know. When last to France he voyaged-for his health-He heard the Opera now and then by stealth; His choir are artistes, and they ought to be-They sing at theatres two nights out of three. The prima donna no one could persuade In any other church to give her aid ; Her vocal beauty, her bewitching air, Fill the pews here, and cram the boxes there. When from her lips the thrilling solo flows, Dandies and damsels cease awhile to doze And when she quavers to her usual pause, A something hums like ill-suppressed applause, While the plump parson placidly surveys His people's backs all turned to greet his gaze He ne'er rebukes-not he-the careless crowd, And hardly would, were they to chat aloud-But reads the service quickly as he can-Mild, casy, pleasant, soft, considerate man. Full fifteen minutes by the clock he doles His drowsy doctrines to somniferous souls. Who, well contented when the blessing's o'er, Stroll to slow music through the gorgeous door, And in the streets their smiles and dress display, As if God's Sabbath were a gala day !

DARE AND DO. Dare to think, though bigots frown,

Dare in words your thoughts express, Dare to rise when you fall down, Dare the wronged and scorned to bless. Dare from custom to depart, Dare the priceless pearl possess Dare to wear it next your heart, Dare, when sinners curse, to bless Dare forsake what you deem wrong, Dare to walk in wisdom's way, Dare to give where gifts belong, Dare God's precepts to obey.

Do what conscience says is right, To what reason says is best, Do with willing mind and heart, Do your duty, and be blest.

THE CORRUPT PRIEST. · But the unfaithful priest, what tongue Enough shall execrate? Most guilty, villanous, dishonest man ! Wolf in the clothing of the gentle lamb! Dark traitor in Messiah's holy camp! Leper in saintly garb! assassin masked In virtue's robe ! vile hypocrite accursed ! I strive in vain to set his evil forth. The words that should sufficiently portray The guilt of such a reprobate had need Come glowing from the lips of eldest hell.'

THE LIBERATOR.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BALLOT-BOX.

WEST NEWTON, May 20th, 1853.

WM. L. GARRISON, Esq :-

through your paper, to defend the grounds on which, as a moral and Christian man, I can vote or hold office under our governments, state and ness of the evil that remain. or hold office under our governments, sate and national; and having often signified my readiness to meet that challenge, at the very first presentation of a fit opportunity, I now avail myself of Health and Life. I know the qualities of the attention of a fit opportunity, I now avail myself of

forward many views or arguments that will be new to the intelligent readers of your paper. If I can vindicate the consistency of my own theory and a hundred,—(about as much as the proportion of a hundred,—(about as much as the proportion of he the most I am entitled to expect.

readily; but the fraud or falsehood of mankind posture of antagonism against men. The only motive for vigorous effort which I ever felt, in any assailant out of misery as soon as possible. What I now propose is, to explain myself, (having been called upon to the sound of the sou else. I have not a syllable of suspicion to utter in regard to any man's motives, nor of detraction from pect of the subject, when its turn comes. any man's character. I think, Mr. Editor, you friends who are known by your name, yet, neither in writing nor in speech, have I ever uttered one disparaging sentence against them. Indeed, I have have borne; and would not have borne, but for my repugnance to have a difficulty with an anti-slavery

One introductory word more: Should the follow One introductory word more: Should the state of the state be made in such manner and spirit as to demand no replication from me. My engagements, pending and impending, debar me, at present, from embarking even in an amicable discussion. And as I it up. write under my own name, and date from my own home, am I not authorized to expect that any one who sees fit to contest my doctrines will do the same? If you, Mr. Editor, think this to be but a fair rule, you will, of course, so far as your paper is concerned, enforce it.

Two questions are presented for consideration 1. Whether our governments, state and national, are so wicked, (on account of slavery, war, or for any other cause,) that a moral and religious man cannot vote, or hold office under them; and 2. whether such a man can vote and hold office under them, even though he acknowled as them, (on the subject of slavery, for instance,) to be wicked

I propose to take up the question last stated first because I believe I ought not to renounce my political franchises under government, even though I should admit that the pro-slavery clauses in the Constitution are as comprehensive and as wicked as any court, judge, or commissioner ever held them to be. I shall, therefore, first meet the worst view of the Constitution, and not its best. Afterwards, I shall make the Constitution as little imperfect as

Let me premise, here, that when I speak of vot-

not rationally be a no-government man.

been so disgusted and horror-stricken at the patent in long processions from all the lands and from all and latent wickednesses of their kind, that they the ages, have contributed each his mite, to the have fled from the face of society,-Simon Stylites materials from which to construct this highest to live sixty years on the top of his column, the form of civil polity known upon the earth, I am anchorite to his den, or Charles V. to his dotard invoked to cast away the very height and crown cloister. The earliest monasteries and nunne- the beauty and glory, of all their achievements ;ries doubtless grow out of this feeling; though, that is, my right as a citizen to help elect my own afterwards, they flourished on very different mo- rulers, and my right as a legislator, judge, or execu tives. The self-exile of the Pilgrim Fathers was tive officer, to help make or administer my own lanes the noblest exemplification of this sentiment ever This, the only security for retaining the blessing exhibited; for they first used, to the uttermost, all that have already been won, the only promise and the means of legal redress which they could command, at home, and then demonstrated the sincer- am invoked to renounce; and, in a paroxysm o ity of their motives and the grandeur of their ideas, madness, to fling the world back again into the by sacrificing all worldly enjoyments to the sanctity hell of its ancient cruelty and darkness. For of moral principles. Cowper's ejaculation- Oh for without the right of the people at large to vote a lodge,' &c .- was a prompting of the same senti- for their officers, and to be elegible to office them ment, though nervously and dyspeptically mani- selves, all would be inevitably lost. I would not fested; for how much manlier to remain in society, sit as a magistrate under our Fugitive Slave Law and fight out the good fight, ourselves, than to and remand a fugitive to bondage, to save my life cast the accumulated burdens and difficulties of the and yet I believe that would be for me an infinitely warfare upon our posterity! The modern device of less offence before God and man, than to remand non-voting is the mildest form in which the malady the world back into the old Gothlands, and Egypts, has ever exhibited itself; for it leaves to its pa-and Chaldeas, as the universal renunciation of the tients all the luxury of complaining, even while franchise and of elegibility to office would do; or they retain and enjoy, personally, every substantial as even a conditional renunciation, until a gov good that government bestows. For the loftiest ernment could be formed in all respects coinciden natures, the renunciation of political honors is no with the Higher Law, would as certainly do. cross. Not to be conspicuous themselves, but to I understand it to be conceded, that it is right on the other hand, I can readily conceive of a class and enjoy whatever privileges the ruler allows .of minds, which, having been disappointed in the rights of trade, of the mail, of the public coinage notoriety of possessing office, seek reprisals in the the courts, &c., &c.; but when the subject elevate more easily obtainable notoriety of affecting to be himself into a citizen, and possesses himself of above it. However, so far as abstaining from office those higher rights, which secure all he now has

If government, then, be a necessity,—the necessity of necessities; if we cannot get outside of it; if, unlike the Pilgrims, we have now no outlying continent to fly to; if our neighboring planets, Venus and Mars, are inaccessible, and we do not like the reputation of the moon,-what is our duty? I answer, to incorporate as much good as we can into our government, and to purge away as much

Under compulsions of the same nature, we subyour permission to execute the implied engagement.

I have not the vanity to suppose that I can bring sustainer. I also know that carbonic acid gas is a sustainer. I also know that carbonic acid gas is a sustainer. mind of any conscientious inquirer, perhaps it will Slavery to Freedom in the Constitution of the Permit me to add further, that in fulfilling the and therefore I will form an anti-breathing society. engagement, (if I may call it so,) into which I have been drawn by circumstances, and not by original choice, I am at the farthest possible remove from coming forward for the state of troversialist. I loathe controversy, and always did.

It is uncongenial to my nature. My faculties will but you must yourself breathe while you thunder against breather while you thunder against breather as much as you will shall be against a work in the same of the sam not work in it. When God, or nature, or good men, are my theme, what thoughts I have flow more and mildly says: Would you not do better to disinfect the miasmatic and pestilent districts chills me, puts my soul, as it were, in irons, and it requires a constant struggle to keep myself in the run out, in regard to food, raiment, shelter, and all the unalterable conditions of our earthly existence.

What then, I repeat, is our duty under such ove whelming necessities! The reply is, expel as much long dissented from some views of yourself and the much carbonic acid gas as you can out of your house; and then out of your neighbors' government and houses too; and tender your aid, or, if not several times borne what, otherwise, I ought not to your aid, at least lyour sympathy, to every man who is laboring for the same or for similar pur poses,-Kossuth, Father Mathew, Miss Dix, or th numblest man, who, as far as his abilities will permit, feels a divine afflatus to emulate them all

> sketch with a few rude strokes the outline of the argument, and leave your intelligent readers to fill

With exceptions searcely worthy of notice on vast a theme, all the governments of the earth have been despotic,-terrible despotisms. Milton says of superior beings, that they ' quaff immortality and joy.' So might the world have done. But tyrants, to keep alive the drunkenness of their ambition, have quaffed the wine that was distilled from rivers of human blood; they have crushed hearts as between mill-stones for the incense they would exhale, and cities have been but torches to light their march to power. And how is it, that mankind have escaped, so far as they have vet escaped, from the clutch of these human demons! By almost imperceptibly slow degrees, and through periods of duration and depths of agony, such as torture the imagination to conceive; -by braving dungeons, the scaffold and the rack for the possibility of a chance of gaining the smallest franchise, or of abolishing the lightest grievance. They have struck their fetters with their hearts, until as water wears away rock, granule by granule, so have those hearts worn away the fetters, atom by atom, until, at last, we venture to call a small portion of the human race by the glorious name

ing, I mean voting, office-holding, cath-taking and Let any man who has read one such book as all; and when I speak of government, I mean both Guizot's History of Civilization revive in his mind, governments, state and national. This, for brev- for a moment, the struggles and agonies, and the repetition, a thousand times repeated, of desper-It has been frequently and truly said, that govern- ate efforts, to wrench from the tyrant, and to bement is a necessary evil, by which we ward off intoler- stow upon the people, the very lowest order of the able evils. Man is social and gregarious by nature. rights which we now enjoy. And what has been He cannot be born alone; he cannot subsist alone, the result! From the feeblest beginnings,-like after having been born; and he cannot be laid in the first trickling of a scanty spring from the crevthe bosom of his mother earth alone. If, when old ice of some Alpine rock, before the confluence enough to provide subsistence for himself, he with- of ten thousand streams swells it to a mighty river draws to solitary cave or wilderness, a few years which flows proudly to the sea; from some perterminates his existence; and, so far as he is concerned, the race is at end. Instead of the nine guilds and corporations for great pecuniary rehundred millions of men, more or less, now dwel- turns, up to larger and larger municipal franling together upon the earth, God might have chises; from an occasional summoning of 'Third made nine hundred millions of little earths, or Estates, or Wittenagemotes, to grant taxes; or asteroids, not larger than Nantucket, and given by the wresting of haughty barons from imbecile them a single inhabitant apiece. But it is easy to thrones, up to representative Chambers, or a wellsee that such an experiment would have proved a established House of Commons, were human rights. miserable failure, both on account of its ephemeral by slow degrees, conquered, or granted, and securcharacter and its uselessness. Hence, society is a ed. At last, on a new continent, with incredible fatality, a necessity of our being; and we may as sacrifices of patriot and Christian men, and after a well quarrel with our fate, because we are breath- war that left the nation prostrate and faint, a form ing beings, as because we are social beings. Even of government was evoked, which, for the grand a millenium on earth would not supersede govern- purposes of securing the rights and liberties of ment and law; for, though men should be infinitely men, is as much superior to other governments, as pure in their hearts, they will not be omniscient in the sun is superior in brightness to the stars that their intellects; and, therefore, though they may herald its rising. It was a political sun new risen need no government for their motives, they will for upon the world, having its melancholy spots, it is their actions. Hence even the chiliast himself can- true, but, oh! how many broad digits of its resplendent disk are undarkened by its spots!

Men, (and not without potent reasons, too,) have And now, after these sages and martyrs, coming

he a blessing to others, is what they covet. And, for the subject, under foreign despotisms, to snatch proceeds from a conscientious principle, I accord and are the pleage of more,—these latter he cannot to the motive my cheerful homage. exercise but must abjure, unless the whole detail

of the government is fashioned to his moral accept- It may be said, that so long as a man has no share ance. This then is the condition of humanity. Enjoy all rights which your government bestows; no sponsibility for it; but the moment he obtains a matter though that government farms out hells as it does mines or fisheries, still enjoy; this is right; so must immediately retire. Now this seems to but when you have so far subdued and restrained that government, that you yourself can have an dren amuse themselves, than like a conclusion of effective, perhaps a controlling voice on the question of farming out the hells, then abandon, retire, disappear; or, if you appear at all, let it be only to denounce those who are working as for life to wards me at the rate of eight miles a minute, will

nent, could a man vote or hold office then, to estab- mation of the earth' to the contrary notwithstand of Commons, for the very purpose of mitigating against it, and against any body who will vote the horrors of the slave trade, and finally, of abol- for it. The physician does not go into the midst ishing that traffic itself,—could they do this, I say, of contagion to catch the disease, but to cure it without damnable sin? And if they, then and So the righteous voter does not vote to upbuild the there, why not we, here and now! Did any op- high places of iniquity, but to demolish them pressed people, or can any oppressed people, ever As the pestilence may overtake the physician who cape, but by ascending the ladder of emancipation, Castle Garden Committee would soon reduce them have won, and fighting for more? How did the of non-voting alone, the tyrant can build a throne people of ancient Rome ever attain to their lim- of everlasting power. The doctrine of 'divine right' cued! How are the subjects of Nicholas or Fran- petual. cis Joseph ever to possess their natural rights, if But it is said : Let us all refuse to vote and hold they will take no part in any department of gov- office, and the government comes to an end, and ernment, until all trace of a violation of the Higher then we will have a better one. I should like to see Law shall have been swept from their codes? this assumption, in respect to a better government, What a treasure-house does all history consist of, demonstrated. It never has been. I do not believe o illustrate and corroborate these views!

But ... me drive this argument home by one blow ore. Suppose by a series of amazing efforts, aided by an extraordinary conjunction of circumstances, the slaves of Virginia should obtain a right to ent disabilities, as to the right to sue, the right to be witnesses, the right of marriage, &c. Would it be wrong in one of these slaves to make use of this right to vote, which he now by the supposition has, n order to gain the rights of marriage, of testimony, of suit, &c., which he has not; and if he will not use his right to vote, until he has previousby obtained all his other rights, and all the other slaves in the Union have obtained all their rights also, in what period of the future eternity can he

expect the fruition of those rights for all ? Nor is the principle now under discussion fined to voting. If it be morally wrong to exercise the political franchise, because the government, in ne of its functions or attributes, invades the Higher Law; how could the serfs of the Feudal or the merchant to fill his pockets with bank bills, System ever urge and seize, and urge and seize, step by step, and claim after claim, until at last they became owners in fee simple of lands and tenements! The same remark might be made as to the right of trial by jury, which right, to-day in the different nations of Europe, is in all the gradations of development. Because a judge of the United States Court arbitrarily uses his power to administer an oath, in order to coerce the conscience of jurors, shall I abandon the jury altogether; or, shall I so much the more appear before him, and demand my rights ! And so of all other franchises and immunities which distinguish the freest nation that ever existed from the most enslaved. But I

Going from the past to the future, when, on this philosophy of non-voting, are we, in this country, ever to cleanse the Constitution or the legislation of the United States from the slavery now in them ! Every Free Soiler, every Liberty Party man, every that state of anti-slavery holiness, which qualifies all political contests, and leaves the whole government in the hands of the reprobates, or 'world's people.' Just as fast as they become saints, they abandon the State to the sinners. So, in the midto consort with their fellow-men, they retired from freedom from Pontiff and priest, or was it the Luthers, the Pyms, and the Hampdons?

On the doctrine of the non-voters, then, on the instant, when a man becomes the best friend of the slave, he throws down all his political weapons, and a little grateful extravagance, and suppose they have a million ;-the voters still have possession of enact, construe, and execute all the laws, and no the advent of the day when it can be otherwise.

peace-men (whose motives I honor with all my that qualified him to perform them. heart) have completed their cycle of self-imposed Well, suppose the non-voter here to say: so far impotency, then come the anti-land-monopolymen, I surrender. As I cannot quarrel with a power and the anti-oath men, and the anti-capital-punish- which I have myself called into being; so I cannot ment men, &c.—But I will not go further, having use a power whose creation I condemn. But I am laid out work enough to last, -on this non-roting a subject, and must take the government that is system, - for a dozen more geological epochs, or until the planet Neptune shall have performed a thou- with the ill.

quench the last fires of the tophets that remain.

When King John summoned his first parliament, the rate of eight rods a minute, though I have could a manyote then? When, less than a thousand but four rods the start. But, nevertheless, I posyears ago, slaves were bought and sold in England, itively decline trying the experiment. So when the as they are now in Virginia, could a man vote non-voter sets his syllogisms in array before me, then, in order to arrest the traffic? When the Stuarts revived the old doctrine of Divine Right, I ought not to vote against slavery in New Mexiand came near enforcing it upon people and parlia- co,-the 'law of physical geography and the forlish the throne of William of Orange ? Or, to look ing,-it still is 'borne in' upon my mind, like an at the other aspect of the case, could Clarkson give inspiration, that I ought to vote against it; and a vote, or Wilberforce be a member of the House that I ought to vote for any body who will vote et out of the gulf of despotism per saltum, by a fearfully flies from it; so, were all anti-slavery citsingle leap! and if not, how are they ever to es- izens to abandon the polls, Hunkerdom and the round by round, all the way defending what they and their children to bondage. On this theory ited degree of natural liberty, and hence their he could not maintain, but the doctrine that the best immense superiority over all contemporaneous na. and truest men are religiously bound to place tions, but by rescuing from tyranny what rights themselves in the category of minors, paupers, they could, and holding fast to what they had res-

it can be. At any rate, it may be safely affirmed that, long before we can dissuade all men, or eve a majority of men, from voting and holding office we can persuade them, by means of voting an holding office, to rid the free States from all taint vote, but should still remain subject to their pres- of slavery, as perfectly as a distinct government could do. But there are other views which protest against,

what appears to me,-this strange delusion. While the non-voter refuses to vote, under our government, he still employs it, sustains it, ratifies its doings, and enjoys them, to all appearance, as much as any other citizen. I omit now the case of tax-paying, with its compensations, because he says he is compelled to do this. But there are a thousand ways in which he adopts and ratifies the acts of the government, where there is no pretence for compulsion; where no one asks him to do what he does, and many would be glad if he did not. Does government ask the heir to take his inheritance; or the grantee of land to record his deeds or the capitalist to invest in railroads, or to buy United States stocks! All these things, and scores of others, are as voluntary as voting; and every one of them involves an oath, by somebody, to sup port the Constitution of the United States. But I am but one, says the non-voter; it is others who support these institutions; I only use them. So you are but one voter, say I; and your share in voting is no larger, in proportion, than your share in any other franchise or immunity. If nobody would go to the Probate Office to get his patrimon secured, there would be so many less Probate Judges, and, of course, so many less blasphemous onths to support the Constitution of the United

But let us see where this moral partnership our wicked government begins and ends. There is the voting, by which the officers of the government are elected; the oath-taking, by which they are qualified for the duties of their office; and then the performance of those duties for the benefit of Anti-Slavery man of any name, as soon as he has the people. How can these successive acts be philsion, sanctification and redemption, and arrived at If nobody would buy public lands, or accept a that state of anti-slavery holiness, which qualifies him to be be a non-voter, withdraws at once from pension, the whole public land system and the Pension Bureau would be swept away at once. Those officers are appointed and their oaths administered for no other purpose but to issue landwarrants and pay pensions. Can I take either warrant or pension from an officer who would not dle ages, when men became too religious, too pious, have been in existence but for my sake, and such as me? can I require of him to show me his comthe world. But was it they who wrested religious mission, in order to see that it is countersigned by the devil, and so all right, (for without ocular in spection of the devil's sign-manual, I would not employ him, but leave him at once,) and then, having consummated the transaction, turn round and retires from the contest. Let us suppose that the ment or the oath-taking of that functionary, but non-voting party prospers, so that at the end of a only with the money and land! In Botany, thousand years, they have induced a hundred thou- which is the more necessary, the radicle or the sand men to join their ranks;—or let us indulge in plumule? In Ornithology, which the more necessary, the egg or the bird! and how can I, the whole field; they still choose all the officers, egg or bird, while affecting a Hindoo horror at imagination can descry, in the vista of the future, the other purpose. And in government, which most the advent of the day when it can be otherwise. If one State after another abolishes slavery, until it officer to perform the duties, or such a demand is abolished in all the States but one; and even for, and acceptance of, the duties performed, as should a law be passed in the last surviving slave created the moral or political necessity for the State, for the emancipation of all its after-born office! Can I describe my power of attorney as children; still the non-voter cannot vote, until the being vitiated by the worst of all taints,—those of last remaining victim of this terrible power shall immorality and impiety,—and yet, found my title have lived out his hundred years, and brought the melancholy procession of uncounted centuries to a immoranty and implety, but my authority upon that very power? Can I go to the theatre every night, and yet denounce the getters up of the play? Can I read a book over But this is not all; this is only the beginning of and over again, and yet condemn author, printer the mischiefs which the doctrine of non-voting and bookseller? If the thief be guilty, the combrings in its train. Let us leap the chasm of ten mon proverb disposes of the partaker. If it be thousand years, and suppose slavery to be abolish- wicked to kidnap slaves in Africa, it is wicked to ed by the non-voters' remedy. Who confront us buy them in America. And I cannot see why, if it now! A most worthy class of men, who say they is wicked to elect a man to office, it is not as wickcannot vote while the Constitution authorizes ed to stand waiting impatiently till he is qualified war. And so, instead of voting against war and by taking a heaven-defying oath, and then employ for peace; instead of sending peace-men to Con- him. The truth is, the election, qualification and gress; they surrender the whole question to the functions of an officer are part of the same whole. captains of fifties and the captains of hundreds, Politically speaking, I cannot separate the duties and suffer the government to make war, and plun- of an officer, -postmaster, custom-house officer, or der and rob, and, for aught they do to the con- any other,-from the voting that authorized the trary, establish slavery anew. And when the performance of the duties, and the oath-taking

Let us look at definitions. Are there two words Now it may be owing to my blindness and ob- in the language whose meanings are more opposite tuseness, but I was never able to see but one infini- to each other than the words subject and citizen! tesimal of an argument, why a man, who thinks he They are antitheses, antipodes, antis of every can innocently enjoy all the privileges which thewick-kind. Mere subjects are those who submit to laws edest of governments may concede to him, should made for them by others; while citizens, directly refuse to enjoy this highest of all privileges,—the or indirectly, make and administer their own laws. right of being a part of the very government itself. Now, to affirm that a citizen is a subject, not be-

cause he cannot vote, but because he will not vote is like affirming that a seeing man is a blind ann because he shuts up his eyes and will not see is an abuse of definitions. It is not merely a de nial of logic, but of the alphabet of logic. A cit zen of the United States, made identical slave of Nero, or a seri of Nicholas! And this not a conclusion, laboriously argued out; but; assumption, or postulatum, to begin the argume with! Look at the facts. The day of election fixed by law, the meeting is warned, the poll is opened, here is an opportunity to thrust down est men, to uphold righteous ones, to elect these wh will pass wise laws, and abrogote iniquitous law and, lo! there stands a group of men, who will no drop an inch-long piece of paper into a deal-bar because they are subjects! But I cannot mingle with such wicked men! Mingle with them all the more, I say, because they are wicked. Was no that the very reason why Christ came into the world; and shall it send you, as his disciples, our But, says the non-voter, we abstain because

are the subjects of a Higher Law. Then, Mr. Xo voter, you have changed the whole nature and scope of your definition. You claimed to enjoy what gove ernment would allow, as the subject of an earthly power, -of Caligula or of President Fillmare; (did Caligula ever do any thing worse, for his age, than signing the Fugitive Slave Bill was for ours! and is this Higher Law less beneficent in allowing you to enjoy whatever rights and franchises if places within your reach, than was the lower law of the tyranny you have escaped from! No matter how wicked the despotism was, -Pope Gregory's or Louis the XIV's, -you could enjoy all the privileges it conferred, -public roads, libraries or galleries, -but when the despotism is miracled, (Shaks spere was right in using this verb,) when, I say, the despotism is miracled into a republic, and that rights rise to some of the noblest prerogatives that a being created in the image of God can possess, then you are smitten with a moral paralysis, and these rights lie unenjoyed around you, like the beauties and glories of nature around an idiot :no, not paralysis, but what the Doctors call hem plegia, - paralysis on one side only, -being still able to enjoy the rights that pertained to the despetism but not the higher ones proper to the republic.

But I cannot join a band of criminals. Was nals? Is the city marshal a robber or a gambler because he goes into a den of robbers or gamblers to arrest them? Just as much, as it seems to me, as I am, in heart, or thought, or deed, a confedera with pro-slavery men, because I go to the polls, or to Congress, to affix limits to slavery and the Slav Power. I live in the same town and state, with proslavery men; I go to the same post-office and custom-house with them ; I avail myself of the same public schools and public libraries, and travel in the same cars; why, when all other men flock to the polls to obtain bond and security for all they have, and promise for all they hope, should I then withdraw myself from the men, with whom I have all alongskept company, and leave my fortunes and the guardianship of my most sacred and endeared principles in the hands of my enemies!

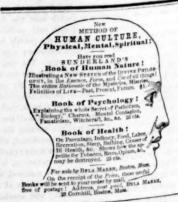
No principle is more familiar than that it is the object and purpose of the act, which determine its moral quality. If one wishes to be a Member of Congress, or Judge, or Marshal, for the sake of pandering to the Slave Power, either for ambition or for avarice, then let him be anathema maran-a but if he accepts these offices, that he may stand be tween the oppressor and the oppressed, as the Roman Tribunes stood between the patricians and the people, will not God approve the purpose and the deed? The pro-slavery man and the anti-slavery man, though they may seem to be performing th same external acts, at the polls, on the beach, or in legislative halls, can no more be likened to each other, than the miserable victim of superstition who flings himself before the car of Juggernaut to be crushed beneath its wheels, can be likened to a band of self-martyring reformers, who, chained like a Macedonian phalanx into one cohesive mass, cast themselves, in bulk, across the track of the idol-divinity, to block up its progress forever; than the slaver that sails to the coast of Africa, bring back its freight of blood for the human shambles, can be compared with the ship that visits the same shores to arrest and subject to condiga

punishment, the stealers of men. As a corollary from all this, it will be readily seen, that, as a voter under our government, I could vote for no one who would commit any violation of the Higher Law; and so, as one eligible to office, I could be a candidate for no post, necessarily involving a breach of that law. And here is the clear-drawn, tangible line of demarcation : Mingle with the government, which you cannot escape from, not to uphold or countenance slavery, or any other wrong; but to circumscribe, molest and abd-

Mr. Editor, I never before brought an argum to a close with so deep a conviction that I had failed to do it justice. I want to devote a week to the subject, and I have had but a day. I want to use the materials which all history proffers me, and I make but here and there a random reference. want to accept and employ the sacred services Humanity and Religion, that come to me as allies in this cause, but I have only time to say that, as Christ, while on earth, recognized the existing gov ernment of Cæsar so far as to direct the paymen of tribute; I believe he would, if now upon earth. recognize the government of Washington, and the institutions and social improvements which it has created, so far as to sanction the use of steam, printing, the telegraph, the underground railroad and the ballot, to bring all civil and religious oppression to an end, and to fulfil his ancient prayer, 'Thy kingdom come.'

Mr. Editor, I will avail myself of your permitsion, and employ my earliest leisure, to prepare ent article more. In the mean time, I remain,

Yours very truly, HORACE MANN.



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